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THE
HISTORY OF MARYLAND,

FROM
ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, IN 1633,
TO
THE RESTORATION, IN 1660,
WITH
A COPIOUS INTRODUCTION,
AND
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY JOHN LEEDS BOZMAN.

VOL. I.

BALTIMORE:
JAMES LUCAS & E. K. DEEVER.
1837.

H.T.

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1837, by James Lucas & E. K. Deaver,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Maryland.



Lucas & Deaver, printers.

THE DONATION
OF THE
ORIGINAL MS. OF THE HISTORY OF MARYLAND

Was made to the State by

JOHN LEEDS KERR, Esq.

Of Talbot County, Md.

And accepted by the General Assembly, in the following Communication
and Resolutions :—

TO THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq.,

Speaker of the House of Delegates of Maryland.

SIR,—I beg leave, through you, as the presiding officer of one branch of the General Assembly, to offer for its acceptance the autograph MS. of a History of Maryland, from its first settlement, in 1633, to the Restoration, in 1660, by John Leeds Bozman, deceased.

An introduction to a history of Maryland, written by my departed friend and relative, was published in the year eighteen hundred and eleven. The reasons which induced that publication, without the entire history itself, were assigned by the writer in his preface, and his design to complete the history at some future time was then intimated. He continued, for several years, with the utmost zeal to pursue this literary task,—to *him* a delightful occupation,—but, the rapid decline of his health defeated, in part, the object of his ardent ambition. Although his determination had been to bring his history down to the Revolution, in 1776, he felt himself admonished to close his task and stopped at the period of the Restoration, in 1660.

So far, this history, with numerous corrections and additions to the Introduction and an appendix of notes and illustrations, was accurately written out by the author himself, and prepared for the press—and would, altogether, comprise in print, about twelve hundred pages in octavo.

Such is a general description of this work. It is derived from the written memorials which then existed in the public archives of the State, from general history, annals and ancient journals, and all other pure sources, to which the anxious inqui-

ries and curious research of the writer could gain him access; and it comprises a history of the Province during the most interesting and eventful periods of its progress, through many difficulties and disasters, to a prosperous and regular government. Every intelligent and patriotic citizen will delight to trace therein the origin of many of our civil and political institutions, as well as the causes which first led to the emigration of our ancestors hither,—and he may, perhaps, feel a peculiar degree of gratification, in possessing this first essay to a regular history of the State, by a native citizen.

Of the learning or ability of the author, or of his qualifications for the execution of the task he assumed, it may not become me to say much, if any thing. To the scholar and the critic, as well as to the plain, sensible and patriotic reader, who can feel the utility and importance of a faithful history of his native country, the character of the work and the fame of its author must be alike submitted; and I feel assured that the most competent judges and those who best know the difficulties and labors of such an enterprise, will best appreciate the efforts and merits of the adventurer.

It would not seem very complimentary to the intelligence of the people of Maryland, at this time of day, to urge many statements in order to awaken their curiosity to the history of the first settlement of their ancestors and their early transactions here—and less so would it be towards their enlightened representatives who compose the General Assembly, to attempt to superadd inducements, to those which their own minds will suggest, to the attainment of an authentic history of any important period of our existence as a separate people here.

This gift to the State, if it be accepted, will not breed money for the treasury, nor will it, by a jot or tittle, elevate or depress the interests of any political party—but it will impart to the whole people a knowledge of their origin and of the by-gone fortunes and doings of their ancestors, and may inspire them with a more patriotic attachment to the land of their birth; whilst to me it will afford the most grateful recollection that the literary labors of a very dear departed friend—a native son of Maryland—have been justly appreciated by my fellow citizens.

I might, perhaps, with some exertions to obtain individual subscriptions and the ordinary patronage of the legislature, have made profit by the publication of this work—but, I prefer the

honor of its adoption by the State to any emolument that could be derived from invading the province of the bookseller.

Nevertheless, sir, there is one indispensable condition in this donation, even if it should be honored with an acceptance, to wit:—that it be printed and published within two years, at the latest, from this date, and that it be printed *correctly*; also that I have some assurance of a fulfilment of this condition precedent.

I desire very much to see the story of interesting incidents and events, and those valuable materials of history, which this MS. contains, preserved by a speedy multiplication of printed copies, against accident and the mouldering of time—to say nothing of any merit in the philosophical and political reflections by which they are connected together; and I could scarcely see, without mortification and regret, the cherished literary offspring of a friend mangled, as it might be, in the press, for want of the proper auspices.

The work described, will be left in the care of Thomas Culbreth, esqr., Clerk of the Council, for the inspection of any committee that either house of the Assembly may think proper to appoint.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Most respectfully,

Your obd't humble serv't,

JOHN LEEDS KERR.

Annapolis, Feb. 21, 1834.

Resolved, by the General Assembly of Maryland, that the donation offered by John Leeds Kerr, of Talbot county, of an Autograph Manuscript of “a history of Maryland, from its first settlement, in sixteen hundred and thirty-three, to the Restoration in sixteen hundred and sixty,” and of “corrections and additions” to an introduction to a history of Maryland, heretofore published, by John Leeds Bozman, deceased, together with a printed and corrected copy of the said Introduction, be and the same are hereby accepted, for and in behalf of the State.

Resolved, That the Governor and Council be, and they are hereby authorised and required, by contract, upon such terms as they may deem reasonable, to cause the said history and introduction, with the corrections and additions, notes and illustrations, to be correctly printed and published, in fair and good type and upon proper paper, in two volumes *octavo*, with an

index to the whole work, and so that the introduction, with the notes and illustrations, and that part of the manuscript which comprises the corrections and additions thereto, inserted in the proper places, according to the directions and references, shall form the first volume; and that the history, with its notes and illustrations, shall form the second volume; *Provided*, that five hundred copies of the work shall be reserved upon any such contract, for the use of the State, at such price as the said Governor and Council shall deem reasonable.

Resolved, That six copies of the said work, when so printed and published, be neatly bound and presented to the said donor.

THE
AUTHOR'S PREFACE
TO
THE INTRODUCTION,

Published in 1811.

“IT will, perhaps, be expected by the public, that some reason should be assigned for publishing an *Introduction* to a history without the history itself. The author has to reply in explanation thereof, that his original intention was most certainly to complete the work he had undertaken. As this design of his has been of long standing, and numerous circumstances have intervened so as to interrupt his progress therein, it would afford but little amusement or satisfaction to the reader to peruse a rehearsal of them here in detail. It will be sufficient to mention, that whenever the author's occupation in life would permit his indulgence in any literary pursuit, that of history always presented to him the strongest attractions. But as it is natural for every man to feel an anxiety to know something of the transactions of his own neighbourhood, rather than of those abroad, so an acquaintance with the history of our native country is a more natural object of desire than that of distant nations. A native of the American States, will always feel an interest in the affairs of any one of them. But contracting the circle of his patriotic sensations to a smaller compass, he finds that the individual state, of which he is a citizen, nay indeed, the county and neighbourhood of his nativity, will more particularly claim both his affection and his attention. The citizen of Maryland, however, has hitherto in vain inquired for some information relative to the past transactions of his own individual state. While almost every other state in the Union has had its historian, Maryland, though one of the earliest British colonies, has never yet had even its first provincial transactions developed to the inquiring

reader. Under the influence of these sentiments, the author of this introduction, about six years past, undertook the task of examining the Provincial Records, at Annapolis, with a view of extracting from them the necessary materials for his design. He soon perceived, that the task of procuring these materials was a much more arduous one than he expected. It was impossible to compile and digest from voluminous books of records, scattered in different offices, where the author would be liable to constant interruptions, any historical work worthy of perusal. He perceived, that he must have either the original books themselves, or full copies of the documents which they contain, in his private apartment, before he could extract from them a recital or narrative of their contents. He takes pleasure, however, in this opportunity of expressing his acknowledgments of the polite attentions and readiness to oblige, which he received from the two gentlemen, who filled the offices of clerk of the council, and that of the late general court. But, formidable as the labour of copying was, the author would have readily encountered it, had it not become evident to him, that a residence at Annapolis for a year or two at least, would be necessary for the purpose. Of this his circumstances in life did not at that time permit. He retired, therefore, from his pursuit, with much reluctance, though still cherishing some hope, that it might at some future time be in his power, by a temporary residence at Annapolis, to complete the task he had assigned himself. Before this could be accomplished by him, he received information, that the gentleman, who has obliged the citizens of this State with a most useful work, "The Landholder's Assistant," had undertaken also, a history of the State of Maryland. As he has manifested much judgment and ability in the execution of the work already published by him, just mentioned, and as he has all the materials either under his own direction, (being register of the land office,) or near at hand to him, the public may expect to be amply gratified with his performance. Should, however, the gentleman just mentioned,* not have undertaken the work, or having undertaken it should have since relinquished it, the author of this volume would think himself authorised to pursue his original intentions.

It might not perhaps be improper in this place to suggest to the legislature of the State, or at least to those members of it

* Mr. Kilty, the gentleman here alluded to, died since this work has been in the printer's hands.

who may be competent judges of the utility and importance of a faithful history of their native country, that the written memorials of the State, whence only that history can be extracted, being comprised in a few MS. volumes, of which no duplicates exist, even should they fortunately escape an accidental destruction by fire, yet are constantly acted upon by the mouldering hand of time. The curious inquirer, who would wish to know something of the causes and origin of many of our political as well as civil institutions, may soon be told, that these reliques of the doings of our ancestors have been considered as useless rubbish, and no longer exist. Might it not, therefore, be suggested, that as the finances of the State are, as we are told, in a very prosperous situation, and the public have much money to spare, some judicious compiler should be employed to arrange and publish such documents remaining on our provincial or state records as would in any way be necessary to form materials for a faithful compilation of our history? A plan of this kind has already been executed with respect to the aggregate history of the several States of the Union, by Mr. Ebenezer Hazard, which, it seems, was undertaken at the instance of the legislature of the United States. One great excellence which the art of printing boasts over that of manuscript is the preservation of historical materials, by the multiplication of copies. If such a number only of the collection proposed was printed, as would be sufficient to deposite a copy in each of the several public offices of every county in the State, their preservation would be satisfactorily secured. Another advantageous result from this might possibly accrue. It is favourable to the cause of truth, that the materials of history should be accessible to all. Under free governments both the animosity of political parties, and the fanaticism or bigotry of religious sects are well known to be peculiarly prevalent. It is not enough, that the historian of such governments should have talents for declamation, and should have attained to celebrity in the senate or the forum. He should be one who has accustomed himself to view the scrambles of parties and the prejudices of sects "in the calm lights of mild philosophy." How has the once elevated character of Fox, the English Demosthenes, faded from its former lustre, by one little feeble historical effort—the emanation of party feelings, while that of the diffident and retired Hume rises daily in importance, and bids fair to be immortal. Besides, the same facts may present themselves to dif-

ferent writers in different points of view. One may state some circumstances attending a transaction, which throw much light on it, while others may omit the same, considering them as immaterial to the purpose. A variety of historians, therefore, contributes much to the preservation of historical truth. Thus a modern historian is enabled at this day to present to the world a more perfect history of Rome, than that of either Livy or Tacitus."

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INTRODUCTION

TO A

HISTORY OF MARYLAND.

SECTION I.

The effects of Columbus's discoveries on the English nation—Commission to John Cabot and his three sons—John Cabot's death—Sebastian Cabot's voyage—Disputes between the courts of Portugal and Spain, in consequence of Columbus's discoveries—Portuguese discoveries—The Pope's partition—Cortereal's voyage—Patents for discovery and trade to some merchants of Bristol—Voyages and discoveries of the French—of the Spaniards—Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida—Luke Vasquez's expedition—Verazzini's voyage—that of Stephen Gomez—English attempts for discovering a North-west passage—Pamphilo Narvez's Grant—Ferdinand de Soto's expedition—Cartier's—First attempts of the French to colonize Canada—English attempt to settle Newfoundland—La Roque's attempt to settle Canada—Further proceedings of the English—Fishery of Newfoundland—Pension granted to Sebastian Cabot.

As Maryland was originally an English colony, to understand SECT. I.
fully the early part of its history, it is indispensably necessary to 1492.
be acquainted, in some measure, with those events which immediately led to its colonization. This will necessarily require not only a concise detail of such European attempts to form settlements in other parts of North America, as preceded that of Maryland in time, but also a short elucidation of the nature of those religious controversies in England, which produced the colonial settlements in New England and Maryland.

It is well known to every one tolerably acquainted with the history of America, that the first discovery of the West Indies, by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, filled all Europe with astonishment and admiration. This brilliant achievement of this renowned citizen of Genoa, under the patronage and auspices of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, cast such a lustre on their throne as to excite the envy of most of the monarchs of Europe.

The effects
of Colum-
bus' disco-
veries on
the Eng-
lish nation.

SECT. I. It does, however, no small credit to the character of Henry VII.

1492. of England, their cotemporary, that he listened with a favourable ear to the application of Bartholomew Columbus, in behalf of his brother Christopher, prior to his grand undertaking. But Ferdinand and Isabella had anticipated him. To make some amends to his subjects, among whom this discovery had excited an uncommon spirit of adventure, Henry invited other seamen of known reputation, to enter into his service for similar purposes. It is remarkable, that at this period of time the English nation was much inferior to most other European nations in the science of navigation, though, from the advantages which its insular situation always gave, the contrary might have been expected. Its military glory retained its rank of equality with any; but the inconsiderate ambition of its monarchs had long wasted it on pernicious and ineffectual efforts to conquer France. In succession to which, the civil wars produced by the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, had, as it were, preyed upon its bowels and exhausted its vigour. The city of Bristol, however, appears to have been inhabited at that time by some merchants of considerable enterprise and public spirit. Here, also, it seems, a certain Giovanni Gaboto, commonly called by the English, John Cabot, a native and citizen of Venice, had long resided. Desirous of emulating the exploits of Columbus, he offered himself to Henry as a person amply qualified to make further discoveries under the English banners. It is to be remembered, that the great object of Columbus, in his first voyage, was not to discover such a continent as that of America, but to explore a more convenient route to the East Indies, which were then supposed to form the grand fountain of all the wealth in the world. As the islands which Columbus discovered, were deemed by him a part of those Indies, and the reports of the vast quantities of gold and silver found among the natives of those islands had, without doubt, reached England, Henry, whose prevailing passion was avarice, was easily induced to listen to Cabot's proposals. He accordingly, by letters patent, bearing date the 5th of March, in the eleventh year of his reign, (in the year of Christ, 1496, according to *New Style*,*) "granted to John Cabot and his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sancias, and their heirs, full power to navigate to any country or bay of the sea, east, west, or north, under his banners, with five ships,
1496. Commission to Jno. Cabot and his three sons.

*See note (A) at the end of the volume.

of such burthen, and manned with as many men as they might choose, at their own cost and charges, to discover such islands, countries, regions, or provinces of any nation of infidels whatsoever, or wheresoever situated, which were then before unknown to any christian people; and as his vassals, governours, lieutenants, and deputies, to subjugate, occupy, and possess such countries or islands, as shall be discovered by them: so that nevertheless they should return to Bristol after every voyage, and that they should pay him a fifth part of the nett profits of such voyage; granting to them and their heirs, to be free from all customs on any goods or merchandize brought with them from such countries so discovered; and that no English subject whatever should frequent or visit such countries so discovered by them, without the license of the said John, his sons, or their heirs, or deputies, under the penalty of a forfeiture of their ships and goods; willing and strictly commanding all his subjects, as well by land as by sea, to be aiding and assisting to the said John and his sons and deputies, in arming and fitting out his ships, to be done at their own expense.”*

SECT. I.
1496.

There are some circumstances necessary to be noticed here, which will plainly account for the delay which took place with the Cabots in availing themselves of the benefits of this patent. The restrictive clause in the letters, that the equipment of their expedition was “to be done at their own expense,” so consonant to the parsimonious or frugal policy of the monarch who granted them, will readily suggest, that much difficulty might probably occur in the way of these enterprising navigators, be-

*See this patent at large in the original Latin in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 9, and a translation of it in Chalmers' Annals, ch. 1, note 7. Chalmers has inserted it in his book, as he says, “because it is the most ancient American State-paper of England.” It may be proper also to take notice here of what is alleged in Harris' collection of Voyages, (ed. 1748, vol. 2, p. 190,) that “the year before this patent was granted, John Cabot, with his son Sebastian, had sailed from Bristol upon discovery, and had actually seen the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of *Prima Vista*, or *First Seen*; and upon the report made by them of this voyage, the before mentioned patent was granted.” But as I do not find this circumstance recognized by any historian, except in the obscure assertion made by the authors of the *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. 44, p. 2, “that Sebastian Cabot was sent by Henry VII. a year before the discovery of *Columbus*, and, having first discovered Newfoundland, sailed along the coast as far as Florida;” which certainly being without foundation as to time at least, if not extent, I have not thought it proper to be inserted in the text. It is possible, however, that those authors might have meant, that Cabot was sent a year before Columbus discovered the continent in his third voyage. If so, it is some corroboration of what is said in Harris.

SECT. I. fore they would be able to procure the means of preparing such

1496. equipment out of their own finances. This consideration necessarily leads to point out the real cause of a subsequent grant or

1498. license by the same king, on the 3d of February, 13 Hen. VII. (nearly two years after their first patent,) whereby he authorised John Cabot "to seize upon six English ships,* in any port or ports of the realm of England, of 200 tons burthen, or under, with their requisite apparatus," &c. Before the license hereby

John Cabot's death

granted could be carried into effect, John Cabot died.† But Sebastian, his son, making application to the king, and propos-

ing to discover a north west passage to the Indies, the grand desideratum of those days, the ruling passion of the king was touched, and he ordered a ship to be manned and victualled for him at Bristol at the royal expense. Some merchants also of that city fitted out for him, at their own charges, three or four other ships. With this little fleet, Sebastian was now ready to undertake his long projected voyage. He accordingly, in May,

Sebastian Cabot's voyage.

1498, ‡ embarked at Bristol for that purpose. Animated by the example of Columbus, he had adopted the system of that great man, concerning the probability of opening a new and shorter passage to the East Indies, by holding a western course. He accordingly deemed it probable, that by steering to the north west, he might reach India by a shorter course than that which Columbus had taken. After sailing for some weeks due west, and nearly in the parallel of the port from which he took his departure, he discovered a large island, which he called *Prima Vista* (First Seen,) and his sailors (being Englishmen) *Newfoundland*; and in a few days he descried a smaller isle, to which he gave the name of St. John's. He landed on both these, made some observations on their soil and productions, and brought off three of the natives. Continuing his course westward, he soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from thence to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude. Their provisions now failing, and a mutiny breaking out among the mariners, they returned to England, without attempt-

* The words are, "quod ipse capere possit," &c. See it at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 10.

† Harris' Voyages, vol. 2, p. 190.

‡ Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. 44, p. 60. Hume's Hist. of England, at the end of Hen. 7th's reign. Other historians place his voyage in 1497; but see note (A) at the end of this volume.

ing either settlement or conquest in any part of this continent.*

SECT. I.

1498.

It may be proper here to observe, that although Columbus might not have actually been the first discoverer of the *continent* of America, yet as he was unquestionably the first discoverer of those islands, now denominated the West Indies, and the first navigator who had the fortitude to cross the Atlantic, he is certainly entitled to all the merit of the first discovery of the continent. For the discovery of the continent, after that of those islands, must, in the nature of things, have been in a short time a necessary consequence. All historians seem to agree, that he first discovered that part of the continent of South America adjacent to the island of Trinidad, on the first of August, 1498, in his third voyage. Supposing the first discovery of the continent of North America by Sebastian Cabot was, as before mentioned, in the same year, to wit, 1498, he probably fell in with the continent only a month or two before Columbus did. Each navigator, however, appears to have been distinct from, and unconnected with the other; and therefore, each entitled to their respective merits, with this manifest exception, that Cabot would never, in all probability, have been sent out on his voyage, had not the fame of Columbus' prior discoveries led the way.

Nor is it easy to deprive the Portuguese nation of a considerable share of merit, which they have just pretences to, in clearing the road, as it were, to the discovery of America. Their indefatigable industry in exploring the coast of Africa during the fifteenth century, in order to get to the East Indies, undoubtedly induced Columbus to think of his western route. And the accidental discovery of Brazil in the last year of that century, by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, demonstrates, that in the course of a few succeeding years, chance would have thrown on that commander and the Portuguese nation, all the honour and fame which Columbus acquired by his own personal sagacity.†

Portuguese
discoveries.

* If the reader should be a native of Maryland, and one of those who place confidence in a right resulting from prior discovery, he will be gratified by the strong probability there is, that Cabot in this voyage first saw and discovered that part of the State of Maryland, bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. If he sailed along the coast from the northward to the 38th degree of latitude, (which is at or near the divisional line between Virginia and Maryland,) he must have had a view of Fenwick's and Assatiegue islands, and possibly looked into Sinepuxent or Chinigoteague inlets.

† Harris' Voyages, vol. 1, p. 666. Robertson's Hist. of America, vol. 1, p. 214.

SECT. I.

1498.
Dispute
between
the courts
of Portugal
and Spain,
in conse-
quence of
Columbus'
discoveries

The pope's
partition.

Immediately on the return of Columbus from his first voyage, in 1492, the Portuguese, who had discovered and possessed the Azores, claimed also, in virtue thereof, as well as by a former grant of the pope,* all such newly discovered islands and countries as had been visited by Columbus. Their catholic majesties, by the advice of Columbus, applied to the pope to obtain his sanction of their claims, and his consent for the conquest of the West Indies. The Spanish queen being a niece of the king of Portugal, he was induced to agree to a reference of their dispute to the pope. The pope then in the chair, was Alexander VI., a Spaniard by birth, and from this circumstance as well as the general depravity of his character, was not perhaps so impartial a judge as might be wished. Readily acceding to the proposal, he, by a bull, bearing date the third of May, 1493, made the celebrated line of partition, whereby he granted to their catholic majesties, all the islands and countries already discovered, or to be discovered, which should lie westward of a line drawn from the north to the south pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward of the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands, and which had not been actually possessed by any christian king or prince, on or before the first day of the same year 1493.† Although the king of Portu-

* This bull of the pope was made in 1444, through the intercession of prince Henry of Portugal, so celebrated for promoting the Portuguese discoveries along the coast of Africa. The tenor of this grant of the pope to the crown of Portugal, was an exclusive right to all the countries which the Portuguese should discover, from cape *Non*, on the coast of Africa, to the continent of India. Harris' *Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 664. Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. 9, p. 246. Robertson's *Hist. of America*, vol. 1, p. 69. It is said by Chalmers (in his *Annals*, ch. 1, note 19,) that—"Pope Nicholas V. in January, 1454, granted to Alphonsus, king of Portugal, and to the infant Henry, the empire of Guinea, with authority to subdue it; and he at the same time prohibited all persons from sailing thither, without their permission;" for which he cites "the bull in Leibnitzii codex juris gent. diplom. p. 163." But, as Robertson (*ibid.*) seems positive in ascribing the original grant to prince Henry to have been by the pontiff Eugene IV. and the date affixed to it (Anno 1444,) in Harris' *Voyages* and in the Mod. Univ. Hist. (*ibid.*) corresponds thereto, wherein it is also said, that Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. confirmed the original grant to Henry, it appears that the grant, alluded to by Chalmers, was in the nature of a deed of confirmation, supposed to be necessary as the Portuguese advanced in their discoveries.

† See this bull at large, in the original Latin, in Hazard's *Collections*, vol. 1, p. 3. The curiosity of a free American citizen of the United States, may perhaps be excited to a desire to know a little of the character of a man, who once had the power of making a grant of the land they live in. He is thus spoken of by Guicciardini, an Italian historian of great estimation:—In his manners he was most shameless; wholly divested of sincerity, of decency, and of truth; without fidelity; without religion; in his avarice, immoderate; in his ambition, insatiable; in his cruelty, more than barbarous; with a most ardent desire of

gal had agreed to the reference, he was dissatisfied with this partition. The subject was, therefore, referred again to six plenipotentiaries, three chosen from each nation, whose conferences issued in an agreement, that the line of partition, in the pope's bull, should be extended two hundred and seventy leagues further to the west; that all westward of that line should fall to the share of the Spaniards; and all eastward of it to the Portuguese: but that the subjects of their catholic majesties might freely sail through those seas belonging to the king of Portugal, holding through the same a direct course.*

SECT. I.

1498.

Notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation between the two contending nations, and their modest compromise for half the world, the Portuguese, having reluctantly agreed to it, did not continue in that respect for the pope's grant, or the partial confirmation of it by the before mentioned referees, so long as might have been expected from the religious bigotry of that nation.† In the year 1500, one Caspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese of respectable family, inspired with the resolution of discovering new countries, and a new route to India, and probably under the influence of the jealousy of his nation as to the Spanish encroachments, and in spite of the donation of the pope, sailed from Lisbon, with two vessels, at his own cost. In the course of his navigation he arrived at Newfoundland, at a bay, which he named Conception bay; explored the whole eastern coast of the island, and proceeded to the mouth of the great river of Canada, the St. Lawrence. He afterwards discovered a land, which he first named Terra Verde, but which, in remembrance of the discoverer, was afterwards called Terra de Cortereal. That part of it, which being

1500.

Cortereal's voyage.

exalting his numerous children, by whatever means it might be accomplished; some of whom were not less detestable than their father." See Roscoe's Pontificate of Leo X. vol. 1, p. 196. It cannot be asserted, however, that this pope Alexander was a worse man than Henry the eighth of England, the great royal reformer. What ornaments to christianity are such characters!

* This agreement was made the 7th of June, 1493. It was sealed by the king of Spain, 2d of July same year; and by the king of Portugal on the 27th of February, 1494. Mod. Univ. History, vol. 9, p. 385-6. Holmes' American Annals, vol. 1, p. 9.

† It should be remembered, however, that some of the causes which have obstructed the cultivation of science in Portugal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not exist in the fifteenth century. The court of inquisition, which effectually checks a spirit of liberal inquiry and of literary improvement, where it is established, was unknown in Portugal in the fifteenth century, when the people of that kingdom began their voyages of discovery. It was not introduced there until about the year 1525, in the reign of John III.—Robertson's Hist. of America, vol. 1, p. 59. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 227.

SECT. I. on the south side of the fiftieth degree of north latitude, he judged to be fit for cultivation, he named Terra de Labrador. Returning, and communicating the news of his discovery to his native country, he hastened back to visit the coast of Labrador, and to go to India through the straits of Anian, which he imagined he had just discovered. Nothing, however, was afterwards heard of him. It is presumed, that he was either murdered by the Esquimaux savages, or perished among the ice. On this disastrous event, a brother of Cortereal undertook the same voyage; most probably in search of his brother: but he is supposed to have met with a similar fate, for he was heard of no more.* Although these voyages were undertaken by individuals, and not by the royal authority of Portugal, yet as these expeditions seem to have been fitted out openly, and probably must have come to the knowledge of the sovereign power of the Portuguese nation, and were not prohibited by them, they may therefore be considered as a national transgression of the interdicted limits prescribed by the pope. This short notice of them seemed necessary to be made, in order to illustrate more fully the early discoveries of the northern parts of the continent of America.

1502.
Patents for
discovery
and trade,
to some
merchants
of Bristol.

In England also, as little regard seems to have been paid to this celebrated papal partition, although that country was still under the ecclesiastical power of the Roman pontiff. Some schemes of further discovery and commercial enterprise having been formed about this time by some merchants of Bristol, in conjunction with some Portuguese gentlemen, patents for that purpose were granted to them by Henry VII., in the sixteenth and eighteenth years of his reign, without noticing the before

* Holmes' American Annals, vol. 1, p. 25. Holmes cites, among the authorities for the foregoing account, Harris' Voyages, vol. 1, p. 270. After a careful search through both volumes of that work, I have not been able to find any of the above particulars relative to Cortereal's voyage; but as it appears from Holmes' Index of Authors cited by him in the course of his work, printed at the end of his second volume, that he used the edition of Harris' Voyages published in 1705, and the one here used is of the edition published in the years 1744 and 1748; it is possible that this voyage might have been designedly omitted in this last or second edition of that work. In vol. 2, p. 401, (edit. 1748,) where the north west passage is treated of, there is this short remark, "One Cortereal, a Portuguese, is also said to have passed this strait, and to have bestowed upon it his name; but how, when, or where, is not to be inquired, or at least to be resolved." The authors of the Modern Universal History, in many parts of their work, particularly in vol. 11, p. 364, pass high encomiums on this last edition of Harris' Collection of Voyages, though they do not mention the editor's name except by description, as "the sensible author of the Present State of Europe."

mentioned line of division.* But these grants do not appear to have ever been productive of any effect; for which, some probable reasons may be suggested. Henry was then engaged in a war with Scotland, and an insurrection in his own kingdom. He was also about forming an alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, by the marriage of his son to their daughter, which might induce him to discountenance undertakings necessarily disagreeable to them. To which may be added also, that agreeably to the characteristic genius of Henry, he was not so liberal as to give one penny towards the enterprise. Nothing further appears to have been done by the English nation, in pursuance of Cabot's discoveries, during the remainder of his reign.

Amidst the enthusiasm excited in Europe by the discovery of America, it was not to be expected that so great a nation as the French would remain totally inactive. It is said, indeed, that they pretend to a more early discovery of the northern part of America, than that of the English under Cabot. Though this appears to have but a slender foundation, yet it seems to be very well authenticated, that as early as the year 1504, some adventurous navigators from Biscay, Bretagne, and Normandy, in France, came in small vessels to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. They are alleged to be the first French vessels that appeared on the coasts of North America; and from their own account, their fishermen are said to have discovered at this time the grand bank of Newfoundland. In a year or two afterwards, (1506,) *Jean Denys*, a native of Rouen, sailed from Harfleur to Newfoundland, and published, on his return, a map of the gulf of St. Lawrence, and of the coast of the adjacent country. Also, in 1508, *Thomas Aubert*, in a ship belonging to his father, *Jean Ango*, Viscount of Dieppe, made a voyage from thence to Newfoundland; and proceeding thence to the river St. Lawrence, is said to be the first who sailed up that great river to the country of Canada, and on his return carried to Paris some of the natives.†

SECT. I.
1502.

1504.
Voyages
and discov-
eries of the
French.

1506.

1508.

The same causes operating on the conduct of Henry VIII. for

* See the later patent at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 11, in which recital is made of the prior one, dated May 19th, 16 Hen. VII. In each of these patents a clause of denization was inserted to the three Portuguese gentlemen concerned, in order to prevent them from being considered as foreign merchants, liable to duties and disadvantages in trade from which English subjects were exempt.

† Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. 39, p. 406. Holmes' Annals, vol. 1, p. 33, 35, 37

SECT. I. the first three or four years of his reign, as in that of his father, they would naturally in like manner paralyze any efforts on the part of the English nation in pursuance of Cabot's discoveries. In the mean time, however, the Spaniards were going on rapidly in their discoveries and conquests in the islands and southern part of America. One incident of which, it may not, perhaps, be unnecessary to mention, as it bears some relation to our present inquiries:—a certain Juan Ponce de Leon, being an officer of some note in the island of Hispaniola, shortly after the conquest and settlement of that island, had obtained leave to conquer the neighbouring island called Porto Rico. After performing this, he was for some cause displaced from his office of governor thereof. But, having thereby acquired considerable wealth, he was enabled to fit out some vessels at his own expense for further discoveries. He was induced to this, not only by that chivalrous spirit of adventure, which appears to have been then among the Spaniards, the fashion of the times; but also, as it is said, to gratify a romantic curiosity, in ascertaining the truth of a traditional report, which had long existed among the aborigines of the island, relative to the extraordinary virtues of a certain river, rivulet, or fountain in the island of *Bimini*, one of the *Lucayos*, which had the property of renovating those who bathed in its waters, into their former youth and vigour. Whatever the motives of his voyage might have been, it seems, that in pursuance of his schemes, he fell upon that part of the coast of North America called by him Florida, and which has ever since retained that name.* But it does not appear that he explored that coast more northerly than the river formerly called *St. Mattheo*, now *St. Juan's* or *St. John's*, in East Florida, and which is a little to the southward of what is now the boundary line between the United States and the Spanish territories.†

1512.
Ponce de
Leon's dis-
covery of
Florida.

The reader will perceive, that at this period of time, (1512,) even after Ponce de Leon's voyage, there remained a vast space of the continent of North America along the Atlantic, (from the 30th to the 38th degree of north latitude, from Florida to the most southern part of the coast of Maryland,) which had never been visited by any European. Although the English court long afterwards, both at the time of granting the patent for Carolina, in 1663, and of their claim to Florida in 1762, pretended

* Called so because it was first discovered by the Spaniards on Easter day, which they call *Pasqua Florida*. *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, vol. 39, p. 123, and vol. 44, p. 41.

† *Harris' Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 57.

that Cabot's discoveries included both Carolina and Florida, by SECT. I.
1512. which, through right of prior discovery, they claimed to the gulf of Mexico,* yet as no authentic history can be found to show that Cabot ever descended so far to the south,† or indeed any lower than the 38th degree of north latitude, that right must remain unsupported, unless the discovery of a part of the continent of North America could be construed as giving right to the whole of it. But in such an extensive continent as this, such a right must appear at once futile and vain, and *the right of prior occupation*, or settlement, seems in such case to be the only rational right to be relied on.‡

The Spaniards did not, however, altogether neglect this discovery of *Ponce de Leon*. Being in want of labourers to work their mines in St. Domingo, they formed the project of kidnapping the natives on this coast for that purpose. Accordingly in the year 1520, two ships were fitted out from St. Domingo, under the command of a Spaniard whose name was Luke Vasquez. He proceeded to that part of the continent of North America which was then supposed by the Spaniards to be a part of Ponce de Leon's discoveries, and as denominated by him Florida: but the place at which Vasquez arrived, was, it seems, that now called St. Helena, a small island at the mouth of Port Royal harbour, in the southern part of South Carolina, in about 32° 15' north latitude. The natives, it is said, seeing his ships as they drew near the land, with expanded sails, never having seen the like before, took them for two monstrous fishes driving towards the shore, and ran in crowds to view them; but on a nearer view of the Spaniards, after they had landed, these simple natives were so struck with their clothing and appearance, that they fled with the greatest marks of consternation. Two of them, however, were taken; and the Spaniards carrying them on board, gave them victuals and drink, and sent them back on shore clothed in Spanish dresses. This insidious kindness had its desired effect with the unsuspecting savages. The king of the country admired the Spanish dresses and hospitality so much, that he sent fifty of his subjects to the ships with fruits

* Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. 40, p. 419. Oldmixon's British Empire in America, vol. 1, p. 325.

† This assertion I find made by Oldmixon in the place just above cited from him, and as it seems to be well founded, it is here adopted. But see a further discussion of this subject in note (B) at the end of this volume.

‡ See note (C) at the end of the volume.

SECT. I. and provisions; ordered his people to attend the Spaniards, 1520. wherever they had a mind to visit the country, and made them rich presents of gold, plates of silver, and pearls. The Spaniards, having learned all they could concerning the country, watered and re-victualled their ships, and inviting a large number of their generous landlords on board, after plying them with liquor, they weighed anchor and sailed off with them. This scheme, however, had not all the success its perpetrators expected. Most of the unhappy savages either pined themselves to death, or were lost in one of the ships that foundered at sea; so that only a very few survived for the purposes of slavery. Vasquez, notwithstanding his loss, having acquired some reputation from the expedition, renewed, in the years 1524 and 1525, his attempts to carry on a slave trade from that part of the continent. But, one of his ships being wrecked near St. Helena, and two hundred of his men being cut off by the natives, he was so discouraged, that he returned to Hispaniola and died, it is said, of a broken heart.*

1524. Verazzini's voyage. Some schemes for discovery and settlement in America, appear to have been now again revived in France. After a lapse of about fifteen years from the expedition of Aubert to Canada, in 1508, before mentioned, and the accession of Francis the first to the throne of France, that excellent monarch, the restorer of letters, (as he is styled by some French writers,) with the honorable ambition natural to great minds, resolved to partake in the glory of other European monarchs in making discoveries in America. With this view he fitted out in the year 1523, Giovanni (or John) Verazzini, a Florentine,† to prosecute discoveries "in the northern parts" of America. History has recorded but little worth mentioning of any of the three several and successive expeditions undertaken by him, except the considerable ex-

*Mod. Univ. His. vol. 40, p. 379.

† Although what is published in Hakluyt's Voyages purports to be—"The relation of *John De Verazzano*, a Florentine," &c., yet I have ventured to alter the orthography of his name to *Verazzini*, upon the authority of Roscoe in his Pontificate of Leo Xth. It is most probable that Hakluyt obtained a copy of Verazzani's letter to the French king from some *French* publication; and the title prefixed to the letter, to wit: "The relation of John De Verrazzano, a Florentine," &c., is evidently not a part of Verazzini's letter, but a title or head of the paper prefixed to it by some French or English editor. Few Englishmen have made themselves so well acquainted with the Italian language as Roscoe. His mode of writing the name, Verazzini, may be therefore followed with greater safety. It may be observed, moreover, that Italian names have not commonly the preposition De prefixed to the surname.

tent of his *second* voyage, or that made by him in 1524, which was along the coast of North America. His discoveries are said to have laid the foundation of the French claims to a considerable part of the continent of North America,* and this his second voyage has therefore become an object of notice. The knowledge we have of it, is altogether derived from his own letter to the French king, which appears to have been written immediately on his return from that voyage to Dieppe, and bears date “the eighth of July, 1524.” As much of his letter is occupied in remarks on the behaviour and appearances of the different savages he met with on the coast, with but an obscure description of some places he touched at, seldom mentioning the latitudes of those places, his “Relation” has become for the most part, but the subject of conjecture, and different writers have drawn different inferences concerning its topography. His own words, in the most material passages of his letter are therefore here preferred.—“The 17 of January, the yeare 1524† by the grace of God, we departed from the dishabited rocks by the isle of Madeira, appertaining to the king of Portugal, with 50 men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship munition very well provided and furnished for eight months; and sailing westward with a faire easterly winde, in 25 days we ran 500 leagues, and 20 of Februerie, we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered, whereof with the diuine helpe and merciful assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name,* we were de-

SECT. I.
1524.

* *Williamson's Hist. of North Carolina*, vol. I, p. 15. The inference may be drawn also from *Charlevoix's Hist. Nouv. France*, as cited in *Holmes' Annals*, *sub anno*, 1524.

† As the letter was evidently written *after* his voyage, and bears date as above mentioned, July 8th, 1524, it follows that January, 1524, was in the first part of that year, and not in the latter part of it agreeably to Old Style in England.

* Her name, as he mentions it in the first paragraph of his letter which preceded what is above, was “the *Dolphin*.” Dr. Miller, in his discourse before the New York Historical Society, on the 4th of September, 1809, (published in the first volume of the collections of that society,) has called this vessel “the *Dauphin*.” It is true, that by old English writers the *Dauphin* of France, (the heir apparent,) was often written the *Dolphin* of France; but as the word *Dolphin* in English signifies a particular species of fish, and a name of that origin is often appropriated to sea vessels, might not “the good happe of her fortunate name,” allude to her similitude to that species of fish in her excellent qualities in her natural element, the sea? It may be added, that the title of *Dauphin* given to the oldest son of the king of France, is said by some, to have originated from one of those princes bearing a figure of the fish called a *Dauphin* in his coat of arms; and the word *Dauphin* in French signifies the sea-fish called a *Dolphin*, as well as the oldest son above mentioned.

SECT. I. 1524. livered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course west and by north. And in other 25 dayes we made above 400 leagues more, where we discovered a new lande, neuer before seene of any man either anciente or moderne, and at the first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived by the great fires that we saw by the sea-coast, that it was inhabited, and saw that the land stretched to the southwards." It may be here remarked, that Verazzini thus far gives no certain *data*, from which it may be ascertained with any tolerable precision at what part of the American continent this "new lande," thus discovered by him, was situated. Forster (in his *Collection of Voyages*,* supposes that "it was that part of the American coast, where the town of Savannah now stands:" which is in about 32° of north latitude. Williamson, in his history of North Carolina, says, "He touched the continent near the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and called the country Mocosa, taking possession of it in the name of the king of France."† Dr. Miller, in his discourse before cited, says:—"About the middle of March he arrived on the American coast, in latitude 34° north; of consequence near that part of North Carolina on which Wilmington now stands." But not one of the assertions are clearly warranted by Verazzini's letter. It is true, that Verazzini, further along in his letter, says—"This land is in latitude 34°." But he here refers to land seen by him after he had traversed "fifty leagues" of the coast, and not the "new lande" first seen by him. It must be acknowledged, however, that circumstances corroborate Dr. Miller's conjecture. The place of Verazzini's departure, (one of the *Desertas* contiguous to Madeira,) lies in about 31° 30' north latitude. For the first twenty-five days he appears to have run a due *west* course, "with a faire easterly winde," (the trade winds) 500 leagues; which we may suppose to have been somewhat more than half the distance across the atlantic; during which run he most probably

* See Holmes' *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 68.

† Williamson's *Hist. of N. Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 15. Although this historian is judicious enough in his remarks, yet, agreeably to the fashion of many American historians, he never deigns to cite any authorities for the facts set forth by him. Verazzini's letter to the French king, containing the "relation" of his voyage in 1524, makes no mention of any country called Mocosa, nor of his touching at the thirtieth degree of latitude. The author must have derived these facts from some other source.

kept in the same parallel of latitude as the place of his departure near Madeira. He then goes on to say, (after mentioning their "delivery from the terrible tempest,")—"and with a prosperous winde followed our course *west and by north*. And in other 25 dayes we made about 400 leagues more, where we discovered a new lande," &c. Having altered his course in the last 25 days, to *west and by north*, with a prosperous wind, he must necessarily have made some *nothing* in his run for the last 25 days, especially when we take in also the well known effect of the gulf stream in setting all vessels near the coast to the northward. So that about three or four degrees would be as small an allowance as could be admitted; which would make the "new lande" first seen by him to have been in about 34° of north latitude, as Dr. Miller supposes; the line of which intersects the small island lying between *Shoal* and *Cabbage* inlets on the coast of North Carolina. "In seeking some convenient harborough, wherein to anchor, and to have knowledge of the place, we sayled *fiftie leagues* in vaine, and seeing the lande to runne still to the southwards,* we resolved to returne backe againe towards the north, where we found ourselves troubled with the like difficultie. At length, being in dispaire to find any porte, we cast anchor upon the coast and sent our boat to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the sea side." Verazzini then proceeds to give a description of the conduct, manners, dress and appearance of the natives, none of which is very interesting to us at this day. Passing that over we may proceed to the next part of his letter, which throws any light upon the location of the coast, where he was at anchor. "We could not learn of this people their manner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the sea. And *not farre from these* we found another people,† whose living we think to be like unto theirs (as hereafter I will declare unto your majestie) shewing at this present the situation and

*English and French *marine* leagues being the same, "fifty leagues," as above mentioned, measured from 34° north latitude "to the southwards," would bring the voyagers down to the southern coast of South Carolina, somewhere between Port Royal harbor and Savannah sound.—See a scale of British and French sea leagues in Hitchin's "Map of the British dominions in America, according to the treaty of 1763."

†It would appear from this, that he now moved farther towards the north from where he anchored and sent the boat ashore; but, as he says "not farre," a few miles may satisfy the expression.

SECT. I. nature of the foresayed land. The shoare is all covered with
 1524. small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of 15 foote, rising in form of little hills, about 50 paces broad. And sayling forwards,* we found certaine small rivers and armes of the sea, that fall down by certaine creeks, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open country rising in heighth above the sandy shoare, with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, some very thiek, and some thinne, replenishing with divers sorts of trees as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Majestie may not thinke, that these are like the woods of *Hercynia* or the wilde deserts of *Tartary*, and the northern coasts, full of fruitlesse trees: but they are full of *palme* trees, bey trees, and high cypresse trees, and many other sorts of trees unknown in Europe," &c. "This land is in latitude 34° ," &c. Although Verazzini apparently expresses himself, as if he meant that the woods or land, where he found *palm* trees, was in 34° north latitude, yet Dr. Miller (in his discourse before quoted) seems to think, that the palm trees mentioned by him, must have been seen "in the southern part of what is now the State of Georgia, *to the north of which the palm tree is not found.*" But may we not hazard a conjecture, that what Verazzini calls the palm tree was what is called the *Cabbage* tree (the *Corypha* of Linneus) according to Mr. William Bartram, whose description of this tree is inserted in Dr. Mease's edition of Willich's Domestic Encyclopedia. Mr. Bartram says, "it is a tall and beautiful species of *palm* tree, which grows *on the sea coast* of Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Its stem, or trunk, is erect, and rises 80 or 90 feet. There are six species of the *palm* Carolina and Florida." This seems to establish the fact, that the Cabbage tree was the same tree mentioned by Verazzini under the denomination of the "*palm* tree," which evidently growing in South Carolina takes away the necessity of his descending to the latitude of the southern part of Georgia. It is possible also, that, as the latitude of 34° is but a little to the north of South Carolina, the cabbage or palm tree might have been found in that part of North Carolina, at the time of Verazzini's voyage, before any European had

*This indicates also, that he kept his progress gradually to the north from the place where he last anchored.

come to destroy the timber trees of the country. "*We departed from this place*, still running along the coast, which we found to *trend toward the east*, and we saw every where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashore with 25 men." Here, by reason of the surf, they could not land, but a young man of the crew, attempting to swim to the shore, was taken by the Indians, treated very civilly, and permitted to swim back to the boat. Supposing the harbor hereafter described by Verazzini, to be that of New York, and counting back or measuring the number of leagues mentioned by him, and attending also to the trending of the coast "toward the east," as just mentioned, it will raise a strong presumption that the place where this incident occurred, was on Cove bank between Ocracocke inlet and Cape Look Out. It seems surprising, therefore, that Mr. Forster, in his collection of Voyages,* should suppose it to have happened "somewhere about New Jersey or Staten Island." "Departing from hence, following the shore which *trended somewhat to the north*," (after passing Cape Hatteras,) "in 50 leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and full of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker; and that we might have some knowledge thereof, we sent 20 men aland, which entered into the country about two leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare." If the next station, after a run of one hundred leagues, be the harbour of New York, as it will appear to be when we arrive at that part of Verazzini's "Relation," the end of "the fifty leagues space," here spoken of, would be a little to the north of Currituck inlet, and on the sea coast of Princess Ann county in Virginia. Nothing in Verazzini's description of that part of the country contradicts this supposition. "Having made our aboade three days in this country, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence trending along the shore between the north and the east,† sayling only in the day time, and ryding at anker by night. *In the space of one hundred leagues sayling* we found a very pleasant place situated among certain

SECT. I.
1524.

*See Holmes' Annals, vol. 1, page 66.

†It will readily be perceived, on an inspection of a map of the United States, that the coast from Cape Hatteras to the mouth of the Chesapeake, is nearly north, and from thence to Sandy Hook, near New York, north east, corresponding in a rough estimation, with the courses and distances abovementioned.

SECT. I. little steape hils; from amidst the which hils there ranne down
 1524. into the sea an exceeding great streame of water, which within the mouth was very deepe, and from the sea to the mouth of the same with the tide, which we found to rise 8 foote, any great ship laden may passe up. But, because we rode at anker in a place, well fenced from the winde, we would not venture ourselves without knowledge of the place, and we passed up with our boats only into the said river, and saw the country very well peopled.” “We entered up the said river into the land about half a league, where it made a most pleasant lake about 3 leagues in compasse, on the which they rowed from the one side to the other, to the number of 30 of their small boats, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see us.” From the foregoing description of this harbour, “among certaine little steape hils,” and in form “a lake about 3 leagues in compass,” we may fairly conclude it to have been the harbor of New York, the circumference of which, in rough estimation, not widely differing from the preceding supposition. There is no other place on the coast from North Carolina to New York, that would correspond with the preceding description. The mouths of either the Delaware or Chesapeake bays have nothing similar to it. “And behold, upon the sudden, (as it is wont to fall out in sayling,) a contrary flaw of winde coming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to our ship, leaving this land to our great discontentment; for the great commodity and pleasantness thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hils shewing mineral matters in them. We wayed anker and sayled *towards the east, for so the coast trended*, and so alwayes *for fifty leagues*, being in the sight thereof, we discovered *an island in form of a triangle*, distant from the main land ten leagues, about the bignesse of the island of the Rhodes; it was full of hils, covered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast; we gave it the name of your Majestie’s mother,* not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.” The circumstances here mentioned all conspire in a confirmation of the opinion, that the *island* here described was that now known by the name of Martha’s Vineyard. The course from Sandy Hook to this island would not vary from a due east course more than a point or thereabout to the north, corresponding to the “trending of the coast to the east,”

* Claudian Island. Claudia was the mother of king Francis.

along the southern shore of Long Island. Agreeably to the best maps the distance from Sandy Hook to the Vineyard does not measure much more than fifty English or French *marine* leagues, or one hundred and fifty English miles. The island, called Martha's Vineyard, is in form also somewhat of a triangle, according to Carey's map. The distance of the island from the main, that is, from its northermost point to Falmouth in Massachusetts, which is said to be nine miles, does not correspond with Verazzini's computation; but supposing his ship to have laid at the westermost angle of the island, the distance from thence to the nearest main land—Saconnet Point, in the State of Rhode Island, might be roughly estimated at about 30 miles, or "ten leagues." But, according to geographical treatises, the island of Rhodes, in the Mediterranean, must be nearly double the size of Martha's Vineyard. This, however, might have been an easy and natural mistake in Verazzini.—"And we came to another lande being 15 leagues distant from the island, where we found a passing good haven, wherein being entred, we found about 20 small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer than 50 paces towards us; they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape and apparel, they then all made a loud shout together, declaring that they rejoiced." He then proceeds to describe the appearance, dress, conduct, and behaviour of the Indians at this place, and therein takes occasion to remark;—"We became great friends with these, and one day we entered into the haven with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at sea, by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats unto the ship, bringing us of their victuals; they made signes unto us where we might safest ride in the haven for the safeguard of our ship, keeping still our company, and after we were come to an anker, we bestowed 15 dayes in prouiding ourselves many necessary things." "This lande is situate in the paralele of Rome in 41 degrees and 2 terees, but somewhat more cold by accidentale causes and not of nature, (as I will declare unto your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid country, which lieth east and west. I say that the mouth of the haven lieth open to the south halfe a league broad, and being entered within it betweene the east and the north it stretcheth twelve leagues, where it waxeth broader and broader,

SECT. I. and maketh a gulf about twenty leagues in compasse, wherein
 1524. are five small islands very fruitful and pleasante, full of hie and broad trees, among the which islands any great nauie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towards the south in the entring into the hauen, on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the sea. In the middest of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone, growing by nature, apt to builde any castle or fortresse there for the keeping of the haven. The 5th of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coaste, keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sayled 150 leagues, finding it alwayes after one maner, but the lande somewhat higeer with certaine mountains, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to lande there in any place, because the weather served our turne for sayling; but we suppose that it was like the former, *the coaste ranne eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the north*, wee found another land, high, full of thick woods, the trees whereof were firres, cypresses, and such like as are wont to grow in cold countreys." From all the circumstances mentioned by Verazzini concerning this "haven," which he here last describes, it seems to be placed beyond a doubt that it must be the "haven," or harbour of Newport, in the state of Rhode Island. High and respectable authorities, however, have applied the preceding description of this haven to the harbor of New York.* Whilst "some difficulties," as Dr. Miller observes, "are to be surmounted in applying Verazzini's description to either," those which occur in the application of it to New York appear to be much the most formidable. If this haven be the harbour of New York, and the island spoken of was visited by Verazzini before his entrance into that harbour, where is the island to be found, "fifteen leagues distant" from the harbour of New York, "of a triangular shape," and of even half the size of the isle of Rhodes? How are we to dispose of the harbour "in form of a lake," which he entered after "the

* Dr. Belknap, in his *American Biography*, vol. 1, p. 33, says, that the harbour which Verazzini entered, "by his description must be that of New York," meaning (according to Dr. Miller, in his discourse before cited,) the harbor last described by Verazzini as above, which we have supposed to be Newport. To the opinion of Belknap, Dr. Miller seems to incline; though the latter gentleman acknowledges difficulties attending it, and mentions, that others have considered the whole account as agreeing better with the harbour of Newport in Rhode Island.

space of 100 leagues sayling," as before mentioned, unless we suppose that harbour to have been that of New York? Both the havens described cannot be that of New York—on a contrary supposition, that the latter haven was the harbor of Newport in Rhode Island, the difficulties are not insurmountable. The distance from the island to the "other lande," which we may suppose to be either Sacconet Point or the southern extremity of Rhode Island, the latter easily to be mistaken at that distance for main land, to wit, "15 leagues," or forty-five miles, would nearly answer in measurement. But what seems to put it beyond a doubt is, that Verazzini has given the latitude of this "haven," to wit: "the parallele of Rome in 41 degrees and 2 terees." Supposing the word "teree" to be the same as "tierce," meaning in English, a *third*, he must have meant to say, that it was in 41° and *two thirds* of a degree, that is, in $41^{\circ} 40'$. The latitude of Rome is about $41^{\circ} 50'$. But according to late American geographers,* the town of Newport in Rhode Island is in $41^{\circ} 35'$ north latitude, making the trifling variance from Verazzini of only five minutes. It is not so with the harbour of New York, which, according to the best maps and latest geographers, lies in about $40^{\circ} 40'$, varying from Verazzini one whole degree. The "five small islands" also may be more easily found in the harbour of Newport than in that of New York. Their course, after leaving the "haven" in question, corresponds better with the supposition of its being that of Newport. The "coast running eastward" for the space of fifty leagues, and trending afterwards to the north, seems to describe the bending of the continent round Cape Cod. In short all the preceding courses and distances seem to be irreconcilable in any other way than by referring the description of the last mentioned haven to the harbour of Newport.

The remainder of Verazzini's "Relation" presents but little deserving notice. He appears to have proceeded northwardly along the coast of the country, to fifty degrees, nearly to the most northern part of the coast of Newfoundland, "the lande," as he says, "that was in times past discoured by the *Brittons*."† Having now, says he, "spent all our provisions and victuals, and having discoured about 700 leagues and more of new

*See Morse's geography.

†Verazzini must have here meant the natives of *Bretagne* or Brittany in France, who, as before mentioned, had, about the year 1504, visited Newfoundland, for the purpose of fishing on its banks.

SECT. I. countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne to France ;"—where he must have arrived some short time previous to the date of his letter, which is the 8th of July, 1524. He afterwards undertook a third voyage, in which he and all his company perished by some unknown disaster, and were no more heard of.

1525.
Stephen
Gomez's
voyage.

About this time also a voyage was made by the Spaniards, which is said to be the first performed by that nation, in which the whole of that part of the coast of North America, now composing the United States, was attempted to be explored by them. One Estevan Gomez, (called by the English, Stephen Gomez,) a Portuguese by birth, who, on account of the great reputation he had acquired as an able navigator, had been selected to accompany Ferdinand Magellan, then in the service of Spain, in his remarkable voyage in the year 1520, wherein he discovered the Straits which have ever since borne his name; and who, perfidiously deserting Magellan, soon after they had entered the South Seas through those Straits, had returned back to Spain, probably jealous of the honour which he perceived Magellan was about acquiring, proposed, soon after his return to the emperor Charles V. the discovery of a more direct passage into the South Seas than that found by Magellan, through the northern part of America. But the emperor, for many reasons which appear to have induced him at that time to discountenance an opposition to the Portuguese claim of the Moluccas, and at the same time, perhaps, disgusted with Gomez's base desertion of Magellan, did not listen to his application in so favourable a manner as he expected. He therefore made proposals of the same nature to the count de Aranda, a Spanish nobleman, and some others, to induce them to send him by this supposed passage to the Moluccas. Less tender of the Portuguese rights than the emperor, and willing to avail themselves of this man's abilities as a pilot, they agreed to furnish him with a ship for that purpose. Accordingly (in the year 1525, as it appears,) Gomez sailed to Cuba, and thence in search of this passage he coasted the continent northward, as high as Cape Ras, at Newfoundland. His heart now failing him, as it is said, or more probably chagrined at not succeeding in finding the much desired passage, he returned to Corunna, carrying with him only some of the unhappy natives, whom he had captured somewhere on the coast. An unlucky jest, which occurred immedi-

ately on his return, injured both his reputation and the credit of the famed north west passage. When the ship came into port, somebody asked what they had on board? A seaman answered, *Esclavos*,—slaves; meaning the poor Indians. A person on shore, not far from the ship, mistaking the sound for *Clavos*—cloves; and setting off immediately for the Spanish court, reported there that Gomez had returned with a cargo of spice from Moluccas. When the mistake came to be discovered, the disappointment, as it generally happens when hopes are unreasonably elevated, produced on the contrary equally unreasonable ridicule and derision on his voyage. The mention of it here, however, serves to illustrate the more early discoveries of the continent of North America.*

SECT. I.
1525.

This delusion of a north west passage to the East Indies which had thus in Spain prompted this expedition, was at the same time operating in other parts of Europe. As Henry the eighth of England, among other of his inordinate passions, was often actuated with the avidity of wealth, he was induced to listen to the advice of a Mr. Robert Thorne, an English merchant, who had long resided at Seville, in Spain, and had there acquired some knowledge of the East India trade. This gentleman represented to Henry the advantages which his kingdom might derive from such a commerce, and proposed that endeavours should be made to find out a passage to the East Indies, by the north west parts of America.† The king, on mature deliberation, gave orders for two ships to be fitted out for that purpose. They sailed on the 20th of May, 1527, but the voyage was productive of no discovery of importance. One of the ships was lost in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the other returned in the month of October following, to England. One circumstance attending this voyage of discovery, is perhaps worth mentioning. The king ordered, that “several *cunning* men” should embark in the voyage. The writer, who mentions this,‡ explains them to mean—“persons skilled in the mathematics; who, with the common sort of people, passed now, and long after, for cunning men and conjurers.” By an uncommon association for those days, one of these *cunning* men, it seems, was

1527.

English attempt to discover a north-west passage.

* Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. 9, p. 388, 575.

† Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. 10, p. 11, 12.

‡ Harris' Voyages, vol. 2, p. 192.

SECT. I. a priest,—“a Canon of St. Paul’s in London, who was a great mathematician, and a man indued with wealth.”*

1527.

1528.
Pamphilo
Narvez’s
grant.

To return to the Spaniards: Notwithstanding their disappointment in Vasquez’s expedition, before mentioned, they were not altogether discouraged from pursuing their discoveries in Florida. In about four years afterwards, (in 1528,) Pamphilo Narvez, the same commander, it would seem, who a few years before had been ungenerously sent by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, to supersede the great Cortez in his important conquest of Mexico, which he was just at that time completing, obtained from his Catholic majesty, the emperor Charles V., a grant of “all the lands lying from the River of Palms to the cape of Florida.”†

Narvez, in pursuance of his grant, fitted out a powerful armament to conquer the country, with which he landed somewhere on the western side of the coast of Florida, in the month of April, 1528. It does not appear that he explored any part of the continent at any great distance from the coast bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. His expedition was entirely unsuccessful; and he and all his men perished miserably, except a very few, who, after undergoing inexpressible hardships, found their way to Mexico.‡ His grant, however, serves to recognise the Spanish claim at this early period of time, to a most extensive part of the southern coast of North America, comprehending a considerable portion of Louisiana, particularly the most valuable part of it to the United States—the territory of New Orleans.

1539.
Ferdinand
de Soto’s
expedition

Before we quit our observations on the progress of the Spaniards in the southern part of North America, we must trespass a little on the order of time, in briefly mentioning a subsequent expedition of that nation, in about ten years after that of Narvez, for making a conquest of Florida. Ferdinand de Soto, who was

* Hackluyt’s Voyages, cited in Holmes’ Annals, vol. 1, p. 75.

† The above description of Narvez’s grant is taken from Holmes’ Annals, vol. 1, p. 75, who appears to have extracted it from the commission as in *Purchas’s Pilgrims*, which he there cites. The *Rio de las Palmas*, or River of Palms, empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, in that part of the coast thereof now called the New Kingdom of Leon. The mouth of the river is in about 25° of north latitude. This river is laid down in the map to Vol. 2, of Robertson’s Hist. of America, as being very large, and in the latitude above mentioned. But no river of that name appears in the late map of that country, published in Pike’s Expeditions. A small river, denominated *Rio Tigre*, is there laid down, the mouth of which is nearly in the same latitude as the *Rio Palmas* above mentioned.

‡ Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 40, p. 380.

governor of Cuba, received from Charles V. the title of Marquis of Florida, with authority as we may suppose, to acquire that country by conquest. He accordingly on the 12th of May, 1539, embarked three hundred and fifty horse, and nine hundred foot, on board of nine ships, at the port of Havanna; the most formidable armament of Europeans that till then had appeared in North America. Pursuing his course to Florida, he disembarked on the 25th of the same month, at the bay of *Spiritu Sancto*, which lies on the western side of the peninsula of East Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico. His route from thence seems to have been in various directions from one Indian tribe to another, as they were then scattered throughout that part of the continent now called the Floridas; and from the length of some of his marches, as mentioned in the account of his expedition, he must have penetrated also far into Georgia, and what is now called the Mississippi Territory, among the Creeks and Cherokees: who are probably the remains of those populous and flourishing tribes of the natives, who are so pompously described by the famous Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, one of the historians of this expedition, and who probably felt a partiality for those, whom he might consider as his countrymen, and consequently a natural indignation at the barbarous usage of them practised on this occasion by Soto. After a series of adventures, experienced by himself and his army, which have the appearance more of romance than reality, during a period of almost five years, and having lost the greater part of his armament, he died of a fever on the banks of the Mississippi; on which event, the officer next in command, prudently contrived to conduct the miserable remnant of them, by water, along the shores of the Gulf, to Panuco, in the kingdom of Mexico. "Thus," says the historian, "ended this expedition, in ruin and poverty to all who were concerned in it; nor did they leave a Spaniard in all Florida."*

We may now attend to the proceedings of the French, in the northern parts of the American continent, when they first began to make serious attempts to form settlements in Canada. Although the loss of Verazzini had discouraged them, for a few years, from fitting out ships for discovery in America, yet, agreeably to the genius and character of that nation, their accustomed activity and energy on such occasions, soon again revived. A certain Jacques Quartier, (called by the English, James Cartier,)

* Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 40, p. 381.

SECT. I. a native and an experienced pilot of St. Malo, was prevailed upon by admiral Chabot to undertake another expedition. He accordingly, on the 20th of April, 1534, sailed from that port under a commission from the French king; and on the 10th of May following, he arrived at cape Bonavista, in Newfoundland. Although in cruising along that coast to the southward, he found many commodious harbors, yet the land was so uninviting, and the climate so cold, that he directed his course to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and entered within a bay there, which he called Le Baye des Chaleurs, on account of the sultry weather which he there experienced, and which has been sometimes since called Spanish Bay.*

1534.
Jacques
Quartier's
voyage.

It may, perhaps, gratify the curiosity of those who are amused with the origin of names, to take notice here of a traditional report, mentioned by some writers, that the Spaniards had long before this voyage of Cartier, visited this coast, but finding no signs of gold or silver, they hurried to get off again, crying out in the Spanish language, *Aca Nada!* that is, 'There is nothing here !' These words the Indians retained in their memory, and when the French now visited the country, and landed, they were saluted by the natives with the cry of *Aca Nada! Aca Nada!* this the French mistook for the name of the country, and have ever since called it *Canada*. The writer from whom this is taken, observes, that this is a very strange derivation, but as he found it in the best French authors, he thought it worth setting down.†

Leaving the bay of Chaleurs, Cartier landed at several places along the coast of the Gulf, and took possession of the country in the name of his most christian majesty. After which, he returned to France, where he arrived on the 5th of September, 1534.

1535.
First at-
tempt of
the
French to
colonise
Candaä.

Cartier's report to the French monarch, of his proceedings, was so favorably received by him, that it was now resolved to attempt the settlement of a colony in the country which he had visited. He was accordingly furnished with three large ships for that purpose, and sent out again with a sufficient number of colonists; among whom were many young men of distinction, who were desirous of accompanying him in the character of volunteers. He arrived in the Gulf on the 10th of August, 1535, and because that was St. Lawrence's day, he then gave it the name of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which name was subse-

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 349. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 407.

† Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 349.

quently extended to the river, and which both retain to this day. SECT. I.
 Passing by an island, to which he gave the name of Assump- 1535.
 tion, since called Anticosti, he sailed up the Saguenay, a river
 emptying into that of St. Lawrence. Returning from thence,
 and proceeding up the river St. Lawrence, he passed a small
 island, to which he gave the name of Isle aux Coudriers, Isle
 of Hazels, from the number of those trees growing on it; and
 afterwards came to another island so full of vines, that he called
 it the Isle of Bacchus; but it has since acquired the name of the
 Isle of Orleans. He had in his last voyage, the precaution to
 carry two of the natives with him to France, where they learned
 as much of the language, as enabled them now to serve as in-
 terpreters between him and their countrymen. Sailing further
 up the St. Lawrence, he entered a small river, where he had an
 interview with an Indian chief, whose name was Donnacona,
 and where he was informed of an Indian town called Hochelaga,
 which was deemed the metropolis of the whole country, and si-
 tuated in an island now known by the name of Montreal, near to
 which it would seem he then was. The inhabitants here, who
 are supposed to have been the Hurons, the most tractable of all
 the Indians then in Canada, treated Cartier and his attendants
 with much hospitality, expressing at the same time astonishment
 at their persons, dress, and accoutrements. He had at this time
 with him only one ship and two long boats, having left the rest
 at St. Croix, a port in the river St. Lawrence, to which port he
 returned, and there spent the winter. The severe cold of the
 climate, together with a more probable cause; the use of salt
 provisions, brought on them the scurvy, with which he and his
 people would have perished, it is supposed, had they not, by the
 advice of the natives, used a decoction of the bark and tops of
 the white pine. On the approach of spring, Cartier prepared to
 return to Europe. Whatever other excellencies of character he
 might have possessed, gratitude does not appear to have been a
 prevalent sentiment with him. He was ungenerous enough to
 kidnap his Indian friend, Donnacona, and carry him to France,
 where he arrived in the spring of 1536.*

As Henry VIII. and Francis I. were at this time upon the very
 best terms, and as neither of them expected to draw much imme-
 diate wealth from their North American expeditions, it was natu-
 ral that that they should not suffer that harmony, which then sub-

* Harris's Vol. 2, p. 349. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 408.

SECT. I. sisted between them, to be interrupted by the feeble attempts which
 1536. the subjects of each were then carrying on for the establishment of colonies in America. In corroboration of this it may be observed, that such establishments were with Henry but secondary objects; for, his principal desire was to find out a north-west passage, so that, agreeably to his imperious temper, he might have a way of his own to the East Indies, and not be obliged to follow the route either of the Spaniards or Portuguese. It was this inclination of the king, that indirectly produced a spirit in the English nation, at this time, for discoveries and settlements in the northern parts of America, notwithstanding the many difficulties and dangers which appeared to attend them. Accordingly a Mr. Hore, a merchant of London, a man of considerable estate, of an athletic constitution and undaunted fortitude, and addicted to the study of the sciences of geography and astronomy, resolved to undertake a voyage, and attempt a settlement in Newfoundland. He no sooner made his intention known, than he received all the countenance and encouragement from the crown that he could expect; and as this gave much credit to the expedition, so that in a short time many young gentlemen of good fortunes and distinguished families, offered to share both the expense and dangers of the undertaking. Among these were some men of the learned professions, particularly a Mr. Thomas Butts, son of Sir William Butts, the king's first physician, and a Mr. Rastal, brother to Serjeant Rastal, the eminent special pleader. About the end of April, 1536, all things were ready, and the whole of the companies of both ships, amounting to one hundred and twenty, mustered at Gravesend, where, with much ceremony they embarked. They soon after sailed, and arrived in the space of two months at cape Breton; from whence they sailed round a great part of Newfoundland, to Penguin island. They afterwards went on shore upon the east side of Newfoundland, where they staid till their provisions were nearly exhausted. Being then afraid to trust themselves at sea in such a condition, they delayed going on board till they were in such distress, that they began secretly to murder and eat one another! This horrid practice coming to the knowledge of their captain, or governor, he, by a most judicious and pathetic speech, brought them to resolve rather to live upon grass and herbs, than to subsist any longer by this detestable method. But it happened soon after that a French ship put in there well manned and well victualled, of which the Englishmen resolved to take advantage; and there-

English
 attempt to
 settle
 New-
 foundland.

fore, watching a fair opportunity, they possessed themselves of the French ship, and leaving their own, sailed directly for the coast of England. They returned safely; but some of them so much altered by their fatigues, that their friends did not know them again; particularly young Mr. Butts, whose parents could not recognise him, but by a mark on his knee. Another circumstance relating to this unfortunate enterprise, is mentioned also, as redounding much to the credit of Henry VIII. The Frenchmen, whose ship had been thus taken, came to England not long afterwards, to complain of the violence committed upon them. King Henry examined very minutely into the affair, and finding that extreme want was the sole cause of an action, otherwise inexcusable, he satisfied the French to the full extent of their demands, out of his own coffers, and pardoned in his own subjects that wrong, which necessity forced them to commit.*

SECT. I.
1540.

The accounts which had been given in France of the before mentioned voyage of Cartier to Canada, had, according to some writers, made an unfavorable impression on both the nation and its monarch. Not being able to produce either gold or silver, all that this unfortunate gentleman could urge about the utility of the settlement and the fruitfulness of the country was treated with neglect by the public. Some individuals, however, appear to have cherished a different opinion. For, in about four years after Cartier's expedition before mentioned, the project of settling Canada began again to be talked of, and a gentleman of Picardy, whose name was Francis de la Rocque, Lord of Roberval, undertook to accomplish this design. To qualify him for this, king Francis I. by letters patent dated January 15th, 1540, created him viceroy, and lieutenant-general in Canada, Hochalaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle-isle, cape Breton and Labrador, giving him the same power and authority in those places that he had himself. This gentleman, who had a good estate, fitted out two ships at his own expense, and prevailed upon James Cartier, by the large promises he made him, to undertake another voyage to Canada. La Rocque not being ready for embarkation himself, he sent Cartier with five ships before him, having previously obtained for him a royal commission as captain-general.† Car-

La Rocque's attempt to settle Canada.

* Harris' Voyages, vol. 2, p. 192.

† This commission is inserted entire in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 19, 21. It is worthy of remark, that in this commission to Cartier, power is given to him to choose fifty persons out of such criminals in prison as shall have been convicted of any crimes whatever, except treason and counterfeiting money, whom

SECT. I. tier commenced this voyage in May, and after encountering many
 1540. storms landed in Newfoundland, on the 23d of August. Roberval not arriving, he proceeded to Canada; and on a small river four leagues above the port de St. Croix, and at no great distance from where Quebec now stands, he built a fort and began the first settlement in Canada, which he called Charlebourg. Cartier having waited there in vain above a year, for the arrival of the viceroy Roberval, and having nearly consumed all his provisions, and now dreading an attack from the savages, set out in the year 1542 on his return to France. Roberval, with three ships and two hundred persons, coming to recruit the settlement in Canada, met him at Newfoundland, and would have obliged him to return to his province; but Cartier eluded him in the night and sailed for Bretagne. The viceroy proceeding up the river St. Lawrence four leagues above the island of Orleans, and finding there a convenient harbor, built a fort, and remained over the winter. It is probable that he returned to France in the next year; for we find him again, in the year 1549, embarking for the river St. Lawrence, accompanied by his brother and a numerous train of adventurers; but they were never heard of afterwards. With them expired, or at least ceased for many years, all the hopes which had been conceived in France of making settlements in America.*

1546.
 Proceedings of the
 English.

To return to the proceedings of the English nation. Although Henry VIII., during his long reign, was frequently at open enmity with Spain, and, for a considerable part of it, was under no restriction from a papal bull, yet his interference in the affairs of the continent, and the vexation he experienced about his wives, seem to have so much engrossed his attention, and of consequence that

he should think fit and capable to serve in the expedition. See an account of a settlement of convicts on the Isle of Sables, by the French, in the year 1598, post. p. 113. The crews of both Columbus and Vaquez de Gama, consisted, it is said, in part of criminals, who were pardoned upon condition of embarking in these expeditions. *Barrington's Observations on the Ancient Statutes*, p. 446.

*Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 349. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 408. It seems to be alleged here, in the Mod. Univ. Hist. that notwithstanding this loss of Roberval and his adventurers, some few French settlers still remained in Canada. If so, they must have been some left there by him on his return to France, after his first voyage in 1542, when he met Cartier. This seems, however, to be contradicted by a passage in Charlevoix's *Nouv. France*, 1, 22, "Avec eux tomberent toutes les esperances, qu'on avoit concues de faire un etablissement en Amerique." And in Harris's Voyages, just cited, it is said that "it was this gentleman (Roberval) who first fixed some French settlements in America, which, however, were afterwards abandoned."

of the nobility and gentry of his kingdom, that his reign appears to have been unfavorable to the progress of discovery. SECT. I.
1546.

In the feeble minority of his son Edward VI., less was to be expected. It seems, from the preamble to a statute made in the second and third year of this king's reign,* that, "within a few years, then past, there had been levied and taken by certain officers of the admiralty, of such merchants and fishermen as had used and practised adventures and voyages to Iceland, Ireland, and other places, commodious for fishing, divers great exactions, as sums of money, doles, and shares of fish, for licenses to pass the realm for such purposes;" severe penalties were therefore enacted against such offenders. This statute appears to have originated from some abuses either connived at or practised by the king's uncle, Thomas Seymour, lord high admiral of England, who was attainted by an act of parliament of this same session. As the admiral had undoubtedly formed very unjustifiable schemes of ambition, and probably took this method of obtaining money as the means of success in those schemes, there is every reason to suppose that the accusations against him on this subject, were not without foundation. The act, however, serves to show, that the English fishery on the coast of Newfoundland, was at this period an object of such national importance as to deserve legislative encouragement; and it is said to have been the first act of parliament that ever was made in relation to America.†

Fishery
of New-
foundland.

1548.

The pension which was in this reign also granted to Sebastian Cabot,‡ seems to imply, that his services in the discovery of North America were not deemed entirely unworthy of remuneration. It must be observed, however, that in the reigns of both Henry and his son Edward, the ruling persons in England appear to have been less desirous of making discoveries of new countries and settlements therein, than in exploring a more expeditious route to the East Indies. After failing in some of their attempts to find out what was called a north-west passage thereto, the minds of the nation seem to have been at this time turned towards a dis-

1549.
Pension
granted to
Cabot.

* 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 6, at a parliament holden November 4th, 1548.

† Chalmers' Annals, ch. i. note 10. Holmes's Annals, vol. i. p. 94.

‡ See the letters patent for this pension at large, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 23. It bears date, January 6th, 2 *Edw.* 6, (which, according to new style, was January 6th, 1549.) It is said, in Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 193, that Cabot was by this patent created grand pilot of England, but no such grant of an office appears in the instrument published by Hazard. He seems to have been at the head of a company, which existed in England at this time, under the title of "Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of New Lands."

SECT. I. covery of what was called the north-east passage. This was, in
1549. all probability, a more preponderating cause which induced them to hold Mr. Cabot's talents in such high request; and this strange infatuation of the nation about these passages might probably also be one cause of preventing their attention at this time to the more substantial and practicable pursuits of Cabot's discoveries in America.

In the reign of Queen Mary, her marriage with Philip, king of Spain, necessarily put a stop to any thing whatever, that might possibly interfere with the affairs of that nation in America.
1553. Thus, from a singular series of causes, did sixty years elapse from the time when the English first discovered North America, before they had made any effectual efforts to avail themselves of the advantages resulting from that discovery.

SECTION II.*

The reign of Elizabeth favorable to maritime adventures—Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the first conductor of an English colony to America—Letters Patent to him for that purpose—Characteristic incidents relative to Sir Humphrey Gilbert—his first voyage unsuccessful—sails a second time for America—takes possession of Newfoundland—is lost on his return to England.

A variety of concurrent circumstances, contributed to render the reign of Elizabeth favorable to the growth of the maritime power of England. The intercourse which had subsisted for some time between the English and Spanish nations, through the alliance of their monarchs, especially in the reign of Mary, immediately preceding, had diffused among the English a considerable knowledge, not only of the general naval affairs of Spain, but more particularly of their American discoveries and settlements. The wealth, which was supposed to flow in upon the Spanish nation, from that source, would naturally allure the English to some endeavors to participate in these advantages. The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, together with the restoration of the reformed religion, in the course of a few years, placed the two nations in a state of hostility towards each other. Queen Elizabeth early foresaw this, and neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime spirit among her people. She therefore, in a particular manner, manifested her approbation of the naval exploits of captain Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, and other great mariners. It must be observed here, that soon after the discovery of the northern part of America by Cabot, and especially that part of it, denominated by him Newfoundland, divers other European nations resorted to that

SECT. II.

1558.

The reign of Elizabeth favorable to maritime adventures.

*The author had prepared a distinct section, to be inserted here, containing a sketch of the attempts of the French protestants, under the direction and patronage of admiral Coligny, to plant colonies, about this time, in that part of the continent of America, now called South Carolina, in consequence of the oppressions which these protestants experienced from the civil war then raging in France. The emigration of the French Hugonots, under Ribaut and Laudonniere—the cruel massacre of them by the Spanish catholics, under Menendez, and the just retaliation inflicted upon the Spaniards by the Chevalier de Gorgues, form a very interesting part of American history. But as the reader would probably consider these events, as bearing but a slight relation to the history to which this volume is intended as an introduction, it has been thought most proper to suppress that section.

SECT. II. coast, for the great emoluments to be derived from the fishery on its banks. Insomuch, indeed, that some of them affected to claim the right of the first discovery of that country. But, as that claim appeared to be without foundation, and as the advantages of the fishery would be much enhanced to any nation that might have possession of that island, the able ministry of that politic princess, could not be insensible to the advantages of making a settlement thereon. Added to this, the extensive progress, which the Spanish nation had now made in the colonization of South America, could not fail to excite the ardent emulation of the English, in following their example by a like colonization of the north. Indeed, the danger of anticipation must have been now urgent; for, it appears by an account published in the year 1578,* that there were fifty sail of English ships, one hundred sail of Spaniards, fifty of Portuguese, and one hundred and fifty French, employed in that year, in the fishery on that coast. It was evident, therefore, that so extensive and inviting a continent as North America, could not now remain much longer without some attempts by some nation, to fix settlements thereon.

1578.
Sir Humphrey Gilbert the conductor of the first English colony to America.

At this period then, Sir Humphrey Gilbert is mentioned by historians, with the distinction due to the conductor of the first English colony to America. He was a native of Devonshire; inherited a good estate, and had early rendered himself conspicuous by his military services in France, Ireland, and Holland. Having afterwards turned his attention to naval affairs, he published a discourse concerning the probability of a north-west passage to the Indies; which discovered no inconsiderable portion, both of learning and ingenuity, mingled with the enthusiasm, the credulity, and sanguine expectations which incite men to new and hazardous undertakings.† With the honora-

* By a Mr. Parkhurst. See Harris's *Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 198.

† Robertson's *Hist. of America*, vol. 4, p. 159. Tindal's edit. of Rapin's *Hist. of England*, vol. 7, p. 387. Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 252. In confirmation of the above character of Sir Humphrey, from Robertson, it may be mentioned, that Sir Humphrey was, a few years before this, (between the years 1571 and 1574,) engaged with the learned Sir Thomas Smith, in some visionary schemes of alchymy, through which means they expected to accumulate sudden wealth, by the transmutation of iron into copper. They were men of such reputation for talents and genius, that they drew in secretary Cecil and the earl of Leicester, to join them in the scheme. The project eventuated, as other delusive dreams of alchymy have generally done—in the ruin of the projectors. Sir Thomas smarted very severely in his purse, and Sir Humphrey was impoverished by it. The former sought to recruit his finances by planting colo-

ble desire of increasing his private fortune, by the pursuit of the SECT. II.
1578. public service, he applied to Elizabeth for permission to carry his schemes into effect. He represented to her the expediency of settling all those countries upon the continent of America, which had been formerly discovered by Cabot, because otherwise it was not at all unlikely, that the French, who had often reviewed those places, would be desirous of supplanting the English, and because it was very far from being improbable, that those countries abounded with very rich minerals.* Upon these suggestions, he easily obtained from the queen, letters patent, vesting in him sufficient powers for this purpose.

It has been observed, that this being the first charter to a colony granted by the crown of England, the articles of it merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age with respect to the nature of such settlements.† “She thereby grants to him, and to his heirs and assigns, for ever, license to discover and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, coun- June 11.
Letters patent for that
purpose. tries, and territories, as were not actually possessed by any christian prince or people, and the same to hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, with all commodities, jurisdiction, and royalties, both by sea and land; and license to the said Sir Humphrey, and all such, as from time to time, by royal license, should go and travel thither, to inhabit or remain there, the statutes or acts of parliament made against fugitives, or any other act, statute, or law whatever, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.‡ And that he might take and lead in the same voyages, to travel thitherward, or to inhabit there with him, such, and so many of her subjects as should willingly accompa-

nies in Ireland, and the latter by the like proceedings in America. It is, however, one among many instances, wherein the very errors of philosophers have been consequentially productive of great good to mankind. See a biographical account of the life of Sir Thomas Smith, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for January, 1776.

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 199.

† Although this observation is made by Robertson, (*Ibid*, last cited,) yet there seems to be no sound reason, why the letters patent granted by Henry VII. in the year 1502, to Hugh Elliott and others, merchants of Bristol, as before mentioned, should not be called a charter to a colony, as well as this to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The former, after granting license to the patentees to discover new countries, grants them license also, to take out with them, any English subjects to inhabit and settle in those countries so discovered—“*et in eisdem inhabitare.*” No permanent settlement in America was ever formed under either of the charters.

‡ See note (D) at the end of this volume.

SECT. II. ny him, so that none of them be such as thereafter should be specially restrained by her. And further, that he, his heirs, and assigns, should have, hold, occupy, and enjoy forever, all the soil of all such lands, &c. with the rights, royalties, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the said lands, with full power to dispose thereof, or part thereof, in fee simple, or otherwise, according to the laws of England, at his and their will and pleasure, to any person within her allegiance, paying unto her the fifth part of all the gold and silver, that should be there gotten: the said lands, &c. to be holden by the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assigns, of her majesty, her heirs and successors, by homage, and by payment of the fifth part before reserved. She grants him license to expel all persons, who without his special permission, should attempt to inhabit the said countries, or within two hundred leagues of the place, where he, his heirs, or assigns, should, within six years next ensuing, make their settlement: and she authorises him to capture all persons, with their vessels and goods, who should be found trading within the limits aforesaid, without his license. And for uniting in perfect league and amity, such countries, lands, and territories, so to be possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid, she declares, that all such countries, so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, from thenceforth should be of the allegiance of her, her heirs and successors, and the persons to inhabit them should enjoy all the privileges of free denizens or natives of England. She grants to Sir Humphrey, and his heirs and assigns, for ever, that he and they might, from time to time, for ever thereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, and in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule, by their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital or criminal, as civil, both in marine and other, all such her subjects, and others as should inhabit the said countries, according to such statutes, laws and ordinances, as should be by him, the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, devised or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid; so always, that the said statutes, laws and ordinances, may be, as near as conveniently may, agreeably to the form of the laws and policy of England: and also, so as they be not against the true christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of the

lands or places, from the allegiance of her, her heirs or successors.”* SECT. II.

1578.

Characteristic incidents relative to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

After obtaining this favor from the queen, Sir Humphrey applied himself to his relations and friends, in order to frame a society capable of carrying this design into execution ; for, it seems that the English monarchs of those times, were either unable or indisposed, to defray the expenses of these great naval expeditions, although the public were to be principally benefited by them. Hence, as was observed before, the Cabots were obliged to bear the expenses of their voyages themselves, except with what aid they might procure from the merchants of Bristol ; and it has been attributed to the parsimony of Elizabeth, though it might probably have been owing to her inability, that she contributed but little, besides her royal license, to aid the many important naval expeditions undertaken in her reign. With her letters patent, indeed, for the erection of exclusive companies for trade, she was very liberal. Hence *monopolies* were among the most grievous burthens of her high-toned exertion of prerogative. We are sorry to find, that our worthy knight was among the most zealous advocates for these exertions of royal authority ; perhaps, indeed, self-interest might have an undue operation in his mind. He was a member for Devonshire, in the house of commons, at the parliament holden in the 13th of Eliz. a few years prior to the date of his patent. One Robert Bell, a puritan, (to which sect, as observed by Hume, although their principles appear so frivolous, and their habits so ridiculous, yet the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution,) had, in that session, made a motion against an exclusive patent, granted to a company of merchants in Bristol. Sir Humphrey spoke against the motion : “ He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell, to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of ; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial, which, whoever should attempt, so much as in fancy, could not, he said, be otherwise accounted than an open enemy. For, what difference is there between saying, that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen ? And though experience has shown so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make subjects forget their duty, it is not good to sport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all

* See this charter at large, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 24.

SECT. II. horned beasts should depart the court, immediately fled, lest his
 1578. ears should be construed to be horns; and by this apologue, he seems to insinuate, that even those who heard, or permitted such dangerous speeches, would not themselves be entirely free from danger. He desired them to beware, lest, if they meddled farther with those matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Louis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship." Upon this speech, the historian proceeds to observe: "Though it gave some disgust, nobody at the time replied any thing, but that Sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion: they never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemingly form, unto her majesty. But in a subsequent debate, Peter Wentworth, a man of superior free spirit, called that speech an insult on the house; noted Sir Humphrey's disposition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to theameleon, which can change itself into all colours, except white; and recommended to the house a due care of liberty of speech, and of the privileges of parliament. It appears, on the whole, that the motion against the exclusive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who first introduced it, was sent for by the council, and was severely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the house with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror; and during some time, no one durst rise to speak of any matters of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with such imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects."*

1579. We are to return, however, to the progress which Sir Humphrey made, in carrying into effect his charter of colonization. His first voyage unsuccessful. With the influence of his own character, and the zealous efforts of his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, who, even in his early youth, displayed those splendid talents and that undaunted spirit, which create admiration and confidence, Sir Humphrey at first met with considerable encouragement. But as the time of embarkation approached, some of his associates beginning to form particular

* Hume's Hist. of England, ch. 40.

projects of their own, inconsistent with his general scheme, and others totally failing in the performance of their engagements, his preparations were much thwarted and delayed. He, however, put to sea with such of his friends as had adhered to their promises, among whom it is said, was his brother Walter Raleigh. The voyage proved unfortunate, and was attended with the loss of one of his best ships, and several of his most esteemed friends. Nor is it quite certain that he arrived, in the course of this voyage, at any part of America ; but it is supposed, that he met with a severe encounter with the Spaniards, and was on that account obliged to return.*

1583.
His second
voyage.

As Sir Humphrey's patent was to expire at the end of six years from the date thereof, unless he made some settlements under it, it soon became necessary for him to resume his schemes, or relinquish them altogether. In the spring of the year 1583, he had again brought his design into some order ; but to furnish the necessary expenses thereof, he was obliged to sell what estate he had, though he had great assistance from his friends, and several gentlemen of rank and fortune agreed to go with him in person. With this view a small squadron was fitted out, consisting of five ships and vessels of different burthens, among which was one called the Raleigh, of 200 tons, fitted out by his brother Walter Raleigh, though, it seems, he did not attend him in his second expedition. In all these vessels were shipped about two hundred and sixty men, among whom were shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, miners, and refiners. To complete the equipment of this colony, some singular circumstances were thought necessary, and may be here mentioned in the words of the original account of the voyage, as it is in Hackluyt ; " Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of musike in good varietie ; not omitting the least toyes, as morris dancers, hobby-horse, and May-like conceits, to delight the savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all pettie haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people."† The resolution of the proprietors was, that the fleet should begin its course northerly, and follow as directly as they could the trade-way to Newfoundland, from whence, after having refreshed and supplied them-

* Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 201. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p 113.

† Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 113, quotes Hackluyt iii. 149.

SECT. II. selves with all necessaries, their intent was to proceed into the
 1583. south, and not to pass by any river or bay, which in all that large tract of land should appear worth their looking into. They likewise prescribed the orders to be observed in the voyage, and the course to be steered, which were delivered to the captains and masters of every ship in writing. On the 11th of June, 1583, the fleet sailed from Plymouth; but, on the thirteenth, their large ship, the Raleigh, under pretence that her captain and a great number of her men were suddenly taken ill of a contagious disease, left the fleet and returned to Plymouth; some say, in great distress, but others that it was done with a design to ruin the expedition. Of this circumstance, Sir Humphrey, when he arrived in Newfoundland, wrote to one of his friends in England, with great resentment and asperity.* On the 30th of July they had sight of land in about 51° of north latitude. From thence they followed the coast to the south, till they came to the island Bacalaos. Continuing the same course southward, they came the same day, being the 3d of August, to the harbour of St. John. He found there several vessels, of different nations, to the amount of thirty-six sail, lying in the harbour and fishing therein. They seemed at first disposed to refuse him an entrance into the harbour. But Sir Humphrey, after preparing to make good his passage by force of arms, first sent in his boat to inform the masters of those vessels, that he had a commission from the queen to take possession of these lands for the crown of England. They were satisfied, and submitted to the levying a tax of provisions from each ship, for supplying the wants of Sir Humphrey's small squadron.

Takes possession of Newfoundland.

On the fourth of August, Sir Humphrey, whom they called the general, and his company, was conducted on shore by the masters of the English fishing vessels, and their owners or merchants, who were with them. On the fifth, the general having caused a tent to be set up in view of all the ships in the harbour, to the number of between 30 and 40 sail, and being accompanied by all his captains, masters, gentlemen, and soldiers, summoned all the merchants and masters, both English and foreigners, to be present at his taking a formal and solemn possession of those territories. Being assembled, he caused his commission, under the great seal of England, to be openly read before them, and to be interpreted to those who were strangers to the English

* See note (E) at the end of this volume.

tongue. By virtue of this commission, he declared that he took possession of the harbour of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way; invested her majesty with the title and dignity thereof, and having had (according to custom) a rod and turf of soil delivered to him, entered and took possession also for himself, his heirs, and assigns forever. He signified to those who were present, and through them to all men, that from thenceforward they should look upon those territories as appertaining to the queen of England, and himself, authorized, under her majesty, to possess and enjoy them, with power to ordain laws for the government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the laws of England, under which all people coming thither for the future, either to inhabit or by way of traffic, should submit and be governed. He then published three laws for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established according to the church of England; by the second, the attempting of any thing prejudicial to her majesty's title, was declared treason, according to the laws of England; by the third, the uttering of words to the dishonour of her majesty, was to be punished with the loss of ears and the confiscation of property. To all this, the multitude then present, as well strangers as Englishmen, assented, it is said, by a general voice. The assembly was then dismissed, and not far from the same place a pillar of wood was erected, to which was infixed a plate of lead, with the arms of England engraven thereon. For the further establishment of this possession so taken, the general granted "in fee farme" several parcels of land lying by the water side, both in the harbour of St. John, and elsewhere, with a reservation of a certain rent and service unto Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, or assigns for ever.

Some writers have attributed all this solemnity to a high degree of vanity in the west country knight; and have ridiculed his pretences to improve the trade of the kingdom, and enlarge the queen's dominions by cutting a turf; in which, however, they injure this gentleman's memory extremely; for, the plain reason of Sir Humphrey's conduct throughout this affair, was his anxiety to give some effect to his grant, which was perpetual to him, and his heirs, in case he took possession of any countries within six years, as before mentioned, and otherwise it was void. There were now but a few months of this period to come. He had sold his estate in England, and it concerned him very

SECT. II.
1583.

SECT. II. nearly to secure an estate somewhere else; and therefore this
 1583. parade was not from any principle of vanity, but from justifiable
 prudence and good economy, especially under the full expectation,
 as we may suppose him to have then been, of settling a colony in that
 part of the country. The important public consequences, also, which are
 said by later writers to have flowed from his conduct herein, will
 effectually do away all ridicule attending it. This formal possession
 now taken, in consequence of the prior discovery by Cabot, has been
 considered by the English as the foundation of the right and title of
 the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland, and *to the fishery
 on its banks*. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that their powerful
 navy has enabled them to support this right, however flimsy and
 exceptionable it may appear.

Is lost on Sir Humphrey remained at St. John's some time, to collect a
 his return tax of provisions, granted to him by every ship which fished
 to England upon the coast adjoining, to repair his ships, and in the mean
 time to explore the island. They found no inhabitants in the
 southern part of the island, the natives having probably abandoned
 it on its being so much frequented by Europeans; but in the northern
 there were some savages who appeared to be harmless and inoffensive
 in their tempers and dispositions. He now resolved to proceed in his
 discoveries southward; and accordingly sailed, on the 20th of August,
 from the harbour of St. John's. Pursuing this route for some days,
 they found themselves on the 29th of the month in the midst of
 dangerous shoals, in latitude 44°, somewhere about Nova Scotia or
 Cape Breton. Here they lost one of their best ships, in which
 perished near a hundred persons. Of this number was Stephen
 Parnenius Budeius, a learned Hungarian, who had accompanied
 the adventurers to record their discoveries and exploits. After this
 loss, the men being generally discouraged and in want of necessities,
 Sir Humphrey proposed returning to England, having, in his judgment,
 made discoveries sufficient to procure assistance enough for a new
 voyage, in the succeeding spring. His people, when he made this
 proposal, were at first reluctant in their assent to it; but upon
 hearing his reasons they submitted; and, according to his advice,
 on the last of August, they altered their course and steered for
 England. When they left St. John's, Sir Humphrey had embarked
 himself on board of the smallest vessel he had with him, which was
 only of ten tons burthen, thinking her the

fittest for observing and discovering the coast. In a few days after they had taken their departure from Cape Race, the most eastern promontory of Newfoundland, they met with violent storms, attended with heavy seas, which so small a vessel was unable to sustain. About midnight, on the 9th of September, the men in the larger ship, having watched the lights in the small vessel in which Sir Humphrey was, observed them to be suddenly extinguished. It was supposed, that she sunk that instant, for she was never afterwards heard of. Thus perished a man, whose spirit of adventure certainly contributed much, at least by example, to the early population of British America, and whose genius and talents entitled him to a better fortune.*

SECT. II.
1536.

*Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 199, 200. Holmes's Annals, Vol. 1, p. 113.

SECTION III.

Sir Walter Raleigh—his rise and character—obtains a renewal of Sir Humphrey's letters patent to himself—Voyage of capts. Amidas and Barlow.—The effects of their voyage in England—Sir Richard Greenville's attempt to settle a colony in North Carolina.

SEC. III.

1584.
Sir Walter Raleigh,
his rise and
character.

The laudable schemes of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, happily for mankind, did not expire with him. His half and younger brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, as he appeared to inherit his useful qualities, seemed also to become heir to his pursuits. He was at this period of time in high favour with the queen. Some writers seem to insinuate, that most of Queen Elizabeth's favourites were remarkable for their personal attractions. All historians who speak of Sir Walter appear to agree that he was conspicuous in his time, not only for the symmetry of his form and the manliness of his deportment, but for his insinuating address with the ladies. Although most authors place the era of his rise at court about this time, yet they do not agree so exactly in assigning the cause of it. The military eclat which he had, a year or two before, acquired in Ireland, where he commanded a company under Lord Grey, against the Spaniards and Irish rebels, was, according to some, the cause of his being known at court. Others would have the earl of Leicester to have been the chief agent in his rise, who, being in the decline of life himself, thought that he might still continue to govern the queen through the intermediate agency of Sir Walter's youthful form and pleasing manners. Others again, attribute his introduction at court to the influence of Ratscliffe, earl of Sussex, in order to supersede his great enemy, the earl of Leicester, himself. But his biographer, in a small tract of his life, prefixed to his *History of the World*,* thinks it proper to lay some stress on a ridiculous incident, which as he supposes, might have been one cause of his aggrandizement. For the mention of this he apologizes, by remarking, that "little transactions are often the best inlets to truth and the mysteries of state;" and thus relates it: "Our captain (Raleigh) coming over out of Ireland upon the afore-

*This tract here cited, does not appear to be the one written by *Oldys*, but one prior to it, printed in 1687.

mentioned cause to court, in very good habit, (which it seems was the greatest part of his estate,) which is often found to be no mean introducer where deserts are not known, found the queen walking, till she was stopt by a plashy place, where she scrupled treading on; presently he spread his new plush coat on the ground, on which the queen gently trod, being not a little pleased, as well as surprised, with so unexpected a compliment. Thus, as one remarks upon this story, *an advantageous admission into the first notices of a prince, is more than half a degree to preferment*.* For he presently after found some gracious beams of favour reflecting on him, which he was resolved, and well knew how, to cherish and contract. To put the queen in remembrance, he wrote in a window obvious to her eye,

“Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;

which her majesty either espying or being shown, under-wrote this answer,

“If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.”

Whichever of the foregoing causes be adopted, and it is probable that they all might have combined in his promotion, it is very certain, that he stood high at this time in the favour of the queen.†

Sir Walter, thus placed in a familiar intercourse with royal authority, would naturally be led to avail himself of his situation, in carrying into effect the honourable schemes of his brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert; especially when those schemes were not only congenial to a young and ambitious mind, but were also the means of recommendation to the patroness of his fortunes.‡

He obtains a renewal of Sr Humphrey's letters patent to himself.

* Fuller's Worthies.

† See note (F) at the end of this volume.

‡ It would seem, that at this time, considerable foreign trade was carried on in the west of England, particularly in Devonshire, by some merchants and others, resident in that part of the country. Indeed, as will be seen hereafter, in the course of this work, the settlements of Virginia and New England, were principally owing to them. Among these public-spirited persons, the Gilbert and Raleigh family of that county seems conspicuous. It was in the year 1584, (new style,) February 6th, a little more than a month prior to the grant to Sir Walter, that letters patent were granted to Mr. Adrian Gilbert, “of Sandridge, in the county of Devon, gentleman;” (whom we may suppose to have been a full brother to Sir Humphrey, and half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh,) and others, for the search and discovery of a passage to China and the Molucca Isles, “by the north-westwarde, north-eastwarde, or northwarde,” creating them a corporation by the name of “The colleagues of the fellowship, for the discoverie of the north-west passage.” (See the letters patent at large in Hazard's Collections, Vol. 1, p. 23.) But this grant was in some measure superseded by a like

SEC. III. Having maturely digested a plan for the discovery and settlement of those parts of North America, lying north of the Gulf of Mexico, and which were as yet unknown and unsettled by the Spaniards, he laid it before the queen and council; to whom it appeared a rational and practicable undertaking. He, therefore, easily obtained a renewal of letters patent to himself, in as ample form, and containing nearly the same clauses and provisions as in that to his brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert.* As the monarchs of England, not only of the Tudor line, but afterwards of the Stuarts, were unwilling to be dependant on their parliaments for their revenues; they were, therefore, generally too poor and needy, to assist with money in the promotion of such laudable enterprises, as the one now contemplated by Raleigh. With their *patents for exclusive trade*, especially with those which promised any emolument to the crown, they were extremely liberal. Hence, *monopolies* were among the most grievous burthens, and the most frequent subject of complaint, even during the popular reign of Elizabeth. Sir Walter was, therefore, obliged to have recourse to the assistance of private individuals, to enable him to pursue his schemes. Before he had obtained his patent, he had formed an association of his friends,† and had prevailed on several merchants and gentlemen, to advance large

project set on foot about the same time in London, under the patronage of Mr. William Sanderson, an eminent merchant of that city. The two associations uniting, captain John Davis was sent out for that purpose, in the year 1585, to the northern coasts of America; who made considerable discoveries in that part of the American continent since called Davis's Straits. (See Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 203.) The reader's attention may be interrupted for a moment, in noticing a remarkable clause in these letters patent, to Adrian Gilbert: mutiny on board the ships, while on their voyage, was to be punished, "as the cause shall be found, in justice to require, by the verdict of twelve of the companie, sworne thereunto;" that is, by a jury selected from the ships' company.

* They bear date the 25th of March, 26th of Eliz. (1584, new style,) and are nearly *verbatim* the same as the beforementioned patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. One small variance between them may be noted: in the clause granting power to Sir Walter, to capture all such vessels as shall be found trafficking within the limits of his grant, without his license, exception is made of "the subjects of our realms and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the *Newfoundlands* for fishing, as heretofore they have commonly used." This exception is not in the patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. See them at large in Hazard's Collections, Vol. 1, p. 33.

† Among these were Sir Richard Grenville, his kinsman, and Sir W. Sanderson, who had married his niece. Burk's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 45. The latter gentleman was, probably, the same as the one before mentioned, who was concerned with Adrian Gilbert, in the discovery of a north-west passage.

sums of money towards carrying on his designs.* According-ly, within a month after the date of his patent, he was enabled to fit out two ships, under the command of captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, to visit the countries which he intended to settle, and to acquire some previous knowledge of their coasts, their soil, and productions.

SEC. III.
1584.

They sailed from the west of England on the 27th of April following; and to avoid the error of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in holding too far north, they shaped their course for the Canaries, which they passed on the tenth of June,† and proceeding from thence to the West Indies, they crossed the Gulf of Mexico, and on the second of July, fell in with the coast of Florida. They sailed along this coast, till they came, on the 13th of the month, to a river, where they anchored; and going on shore, took possession in right of the queen, and for the use of the proprietors. They went to the tops of the hills which were nearest to the shore, from whence, though they were not high, they discovered the sea on all sides, and found the place where they landed, to be an island of about twenty miles long; then called by the natives, Wokoken.‡

Voyage of
captains
Amidas
and Bar-
low.

On the third day after their arrival and landing, they saw three of the natives in a canoe, one of whom went on shore and waited, without any signs of apprehension, the approach of a boat from the ships, which was sent to him. He spoke long and earnestly to them, in his own language, and then went with them on board, without any apparent fear. They gave him a shirt and hat, and some wine and meat, with all which he seemed pleased. After he had, with a seeming satisfaction, narrowly viewed the ships, and examined every part with his eyes and touch, he went in his canoe, to about a quarter of a mile's distance, where he fished, and returned in a short time, with his canoe loaded with fish; which he divided equally in two heaps, and making signs that each vessel should take one, he departed.

The next day several canoes appeared in view; in one of

* Oldmixon's British Empire in America, Vol. 1, p. 210. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 235.

† Another reason for this course is said to be thus expressed in the account of this voyage, written by Barlow: "Because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, between the Capes of Florida and Havannah, was much stronger than we afterwards found it to be." Burk's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 46. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 236.

‡ See note (G) at the end of the volume.

SEC. III. which came the king's brother, whose name was Granganemeeo, attended with about forty men. The king himself, whose name was Wingina,* lay ill of the wounds he had received in battle, with a neighbouring nation. The behaviour of Granganemeeo, when he approached the ships, is best described in the very words of the original account of the voyage, as preserved in Hackluyt. "The manner of his coming was in this sort; hee left his boates altogether as the first man did (the day before) a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place over against the shippes, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long matre upon the ground, on which he satte downe; and at the other end of the matre, foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him, with our weapons, hee never moved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offered from us; but sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set, hee made all signs of joy and welcome."† Our navigators made to him and his four chiefs, presents of several toys, which he kindly accepted; but he took all himself, and gave them to understand, that none there had a right to any thing but himself. Two days afterwards they let him see their merchandise; of which nothing seemed to please him more than a pewter dish, for which he gave twenty deerskins; and making a hole in the rim of it, hung it over his neck for a breast-plate, making signs that it would defend him against the enemy's arrows. The next thing he bought was a copper kettle, for which he gave fifty skins. As long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none but such as like him, wore plates of gold or copper on their heads, were allowed either to buy or sell; but as soon as they had done, every man had his liberty. They offered very good exchange for hatchets, axes, and knives; and would have given any thing in truck for swords, but the English would not part with any. Granganemeeo came afterwards frequently on board, and would eat, drink, and be merry with them; and once he brought his wife and children with

* The country was called by the natives, Wingadocia, in respect possibly to the reigning chief, Wingina. Wingina's residence, at the time of this voyage, was at a place then called by the Indians—Secotam; which, according to Williamson's *Hist. of North Carolina*, (vol. 1, p. 38,) was at or near the present town of Beaufort in Content county.

† See Holmes's *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 117.

him, who afterwards came frequently with her followers only. SEC. III.
 The English often trusted him with goods upon his word, to 1584.
 bring the value at a certain time, which he never failed in doing.
 He had a strong inclination to have a suit of armour and a sword,
 which he saw in one of the ships ; and would have left a large box
 of pearls in pawn for them ; but they refused it, that he might not
 know they set a value upon them, till they could discover whence
 he got them. He supplied them every day with venison, fish,
 and fruits ; and invited them to his habitation on Roanoke island.
 After this friendly intercourse, captain Barlow, with seven of his
 men, went in a boat twenty miles into the river Occam, (supposed
 to be the same as Pampticoe sound,) and the evening following
 came to the isle of Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle sound,
 where they found a village, the residence of Granganimeo, situ-
 ated in the northern extremity of the island, and consisting of
 nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified with sharp palisades.
 When the English arrived there in their boat, Granganimeo was
 absent ; but his wife received them with generous hospitality.
 Their boat she ordered to be drawn on shore, that she might not
 be injured by the surge ; the oars, for better security, were taken
 to her house ; while the English, by her orders, were conveyed
 from their boat on the backs of the natives. She took off their
 stockings, and washed their feet in warm water. When dinner
 was ready, she led them into an inner room, where they were
 feasted with venison, fish, fruit, and homini. Whilst they were
 eating, some of her people came in with their bows and arrows.
 The English, suspecting treachery, flew to their arms ; but the
 wife of Granganimeo, perceiving their suspicions, ordered the
 bows to be taken from her people, their arrows to be broken, and
 themselves to be beaten out of the house. In the evening,* the
 English thought it prudent to return to their boat, and having
 put off at a small distance from the shore, lay at anchor. This
 generous woman seemed hurt by this precaution ; but had a sup-
 per dressed for them and delivered at the boat's side, with the

* There seems to be some difficulty in reconciling the *time* of Barlow's arrival at Roanoke island, *in the evening*, according to his own account, as before cited, and the time here above mentioned, of their retiring to their boat. If they arrived in the *evening* at the island, there certainly was not time sufficient for all the circumstances above mentioned to have been acted before they retired to their boat. I have, however, related it as I find it in several respectable historians. See Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 50. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 118.

SEC. III. pots in which it was cooked. Perceiving their continued distrust, she ordered several men and thirty women to sit on the bank, as a guard to them through the night, and sent several mats to screen them from the weather.

1584.

This island is said to have been the limit of their discovery during this voyage, nor were they fortunate enough to procure any information, except a confused account from the Indians of the wreck of some ship on the coast, between twenty and thirty years before.*

Having loaded their ships with furs, sassafras, and cedar, and procured a small quantity of pearl, which was supposed to be an evident sign of the great riches of the country,† they returned to England about the middle of September, carrying with them two of the natives, whose names were Manteo and Wanchese, who voluntarily accompanied them.‡

The effects
of their
voyage in
England.

The adventurers in this voyage, on their return, spread abroad marvellous accounts of their discoveries. To those who are now well acquainted with that part of the continent which Amidas and Barlow visited, the description which they gave of it on their return can be considered only as a scarcely plausible fiction, principally intended to induce future adventurers. Their accounts, however, of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the innocence of the natives, were pictured and represented to the queen so much in the style of the scenery of a romance, that her majesty was graciously pleased, it is said, to promise what assistance it should be necessary for the crown to give towards promoting a settlement there. Sir Walter Raleigh, with the gallantry of a courtier, in compliment to his mistress—a virgin queen, thought it proper to bestow on this new discovered paradise the name of *Virginia*. Others, though with less probability, attribute that denomination to the queen herself, because she fancied, that it exhibited man-

* Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 50.

† It is said, they also brought home with them some tobacco, the first that was seen in England. *Oldmixon's British Empire in America*, vol. 4, p. 211. Although the introduction of tobacco into England is generally referred to the time of governor Lane and his colonists, as hereafter mentioned, yet it is not probable that capt. Amidas and Barlow would have omitted, not only to notice a custom then in common use with the Indians, but also to bring with them a sample of such a remarkable vegetable. It would seem, however, that tobacco was first brought into England by Sir John Hawkins in 1565. See Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 124.

‡ Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 201.

kind in their primitive innocence, and the creation in its first SEC. III.
virgin purity and plenty.*

1585.

Encouraged by the reports of his navigators, Sir Walter hastened his preparations for taking possession of this inviting property. It was his first intention to have commanded in this expedition himself, and to have carried with him a sufficient number of forces to have completed his design of making a settlement there; but being at that time jealous, that his absence might be prejudicial to his interest at court, he committed the care of this second enterprise to Sir Richard Grenville, his relation,† who was interested with him in his patent, before mentioned, obtained from Elizabeth.‡ Sir Richard, with seven small ships, laden with provision, arms, ammunition, and spare men, to settle a colony, with the two Indians before mentioned, Wanchese and Manteo, to assist him in his negotiations with their countrymen, sailed on the 9th of April, 1585, from Plymouth.¶ But, induced by a desire of sharing in the plunder of a predatory war, then carried on by the English against the Spaniards, in capturing their vessels bound home with the treasures of their Mexican mines, as well as from unacquaintance with a more direct and shorter course to North America, he took the southern route by the West India islands. He spent some time in cruising among these, and in taking prizes; so that it was towards the close of June, before he arrived on the coast of North Ame-

Sir Richard Grenville's attempt to settle a colony in N. Carolina.

* Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, vol. 1, p. 211. Harris's *Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 202.

† It has been supposed, that Sir Walter Raleigh himself went to Virginia with this colony; but this mistake, it appears, has arisen from a mistranslation of a passage in Heriot's narrative, published in Hackluyt's *Voyages*. It is thus expressed in the original English: "The actions of those who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh *therein employed*;" which is thus rendered in the Latin translation: "*qui generosum D. Waltherum Raleigh in eam regionem comitati sunt.*" See Burk's *Hist. of Virg.* vol. 1, p. 55.

‡ Oldmixon, in his *British Empire in America*, vol. 1, p. 212, speaks of this expedition as carried on by a *company*, and that it was the first of that kind established in Europe. But it seems, that they were not a regular corporate body, until the reign of king James, who incorporated them by the name of "The governor and company of the West Indies." They were afterwards dissolved by Charles I, it is said, for their mal-administration. Harris's *Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 202.

¶ It is said, that Sir Richard was accompanied in this voyage by the celebrated circumnavigator Sir Thomas Cavendish, who, being then a young man of family and fortune, fitted out a ship of 120 tons burthen, called the *Tyger*, at his own expense, in which he attended Sir Richard, without any profit. Harris's *Voyages*, vol. 1, p. 23. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 411.

SEC. III. rica. It is said, that in going into the harbour of Wokoken, he lost the ship which he himself commanded.* He touched at both the islands where Amidas and Barlow had landed. Manteo, the faithful Indian whom they had carried to England, and who was now brought back with Sir Richard, became of essential service. His knowledge of the language made him useful as an interpreter, while his attachment to the persons of the English smoothed the difficulties to a free and friendly intercourse with his countrymen. Under his guidance they made several excursions, and visited several villages on the islands and the main. They discovered an Indian town near the mouth of Pamptico river, (sometimes called the *Tar river*,) and another town near the mouth of the Neus; from which they directed their course to Secotan, (the town before mentioned near Beaufort.) where they were civilly entertained by Wingina, the king of the country, as before mentioned. From Secotan some of the boats proceeded, by the shortest course, to Wokoken: but Grenville, with the other boats, returned to Aguascosack, the town on the Neus before discovered by them, for the frivolous purpose of demanding a silver cup, that had been stolen from him, when he visited that town on his late circuit. The cup was not restored according to promise; and the Indians, apprehending danger, fled to the woods: upon which their town was burned, and their corn destroyed. At this juncture of time, no conduct in him could have been more impolitic, and might well forebode the disastrous conclusion of the first attempt at colonization. After this outrage, Sir Richard sailed to Hatteras, where he was visited by Granganimeo, the prince who had been so friendly to Amidas and Barlow, the preceding year, and who was, on this occasion, accompanied by Manteo. Of what passed between Granganimeo and Grenville at this interview, the journal of the voyage, it is said, gives no account; but it is supposed, that the settlement of the English in the country, at least of the island of Roanoke, was then agreed on between them, to their mutual satisfaction.† Sir Richard then sailed for that island, and having fixed upon it for the site of his settlement, he remained there for the space of six weeks, probably to see the colony somewhat arranged and settled before his departure. The colony

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 29, p. 236. In Burk's Hist. of Virg. vol. 1, p. 53, it is said, that "he narrowly escaped shipwreck on Cape Fear."

† Oldy's Life of Raleigh, cited in Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 119, note 3.

consisted of one hundred and eight men ;* Mr. Ralph Lane, being their governor, and captain Philip Amidas, titular admiral of the country. Thomas Heriot, a celebrated mathematician, and John Wythe, an ingenious painter, were also of the number of these colonists.† Having disposed all things for his departure, Sir Richard set sail for England on the 25th of August. He shaped his course, it seems, so as to keep in view the American continent which lies between Currituck inlet and the Chesapeake ; but nothing is mentioned of any discoveries thereby made by him. He arrived at Plymouth on the 18th of September following, with a rich Spanish prize, which he had taken on the passage. His proceedings appear to have been highly satisfactory to his employers, or what was then called, The new Virginia Company.

SEC. III.
1585.

Soon after the departure of the ships, governor Lane began to make preparation for obtaining a more extensive knowledge of the country. With this view, he proceeded in his boats along the coast to the southward, to the before mentioned Indian town called Secotan, by their reckoning, distant from Roanoke eighty miles. To the north they advanced one hundred and thirty miles, to the Chesapeakes, a nation of Indians seated on a small river, now called Elizabeth, which falls into the great bay of Chesapeake, below Norfolk.‡ To the north-west, they went up Albemarle sound and Chowan river, one hundred and thirty miles, to a nation of Indians called the Chowanocks, in-

* In Robertson's Hist. of America, b. 9, it is said, that there were one hundred and eighty men ; but that is evidently a mistake either in himself or the press, by transposing the figures 108 to 180, or by adding the letter *y* to the word eight. The list, published in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 38, contains 107 persons, which with governor Lane, would complete the number 108, mentioned by Oldmixon, Harris, and the Mod. Univ. Hist.

† Mr. Heriot wrote a topographical description of this part of Virginia (now called North Carolina,) and its natural history, which is preserved in Hackluyt's Voyages. It was translated into Latin by Theodore de Bry, and published in his collection of voyages. It is said, that the famous French philosopher, Descartes, borrowed much of his light from this excellent mathematician ; and that the learned Dr. Wallis gave his preference to Heriot's improvements before those of Descartes, although the latter had the advantage of being successor to the former. Mr. Wythe also made several drawings of the figures and dress of the natives, of which copperplates were afterwards taken and published by de Bry in 1590, with Latin explanations of them. Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 55.

‡ In the Indian language, the word *Chesapeake* is said to signify, *Mother of Waters*. The obvious application of this name to the great bay so called, would seem to intimate, that this Indian nation must have taken their name from their situation near the Chesapeake bay. See Burk's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 56, who cites Stith.

SEC. III. habiting a little beyond the fork of that river, where one branch
1585. takes the name of Meherrin, and the other of Nottoway. The king of this nation, Menatonon, is represented by the adventurers, to have been shrewd beyond the cunning of any of the Indians they had seen. Having collected from the inquiries of the English, the principal subjects of their search, he amused governor Lane and his company, with the story of a copper mine and a pearl fishery, and with the marvellous description of the source of the Moratuck, now called Roanoke; which he represented as springing out of a rock, so near the sea, that in high winds the surge beat over it. Added to this, there seems to have been at this time a general rumour among the Indians, perhaps designedly propagated by them, of a rich mine, that lay in the interior part of the country high up the Moratuck. Filled with these delusive hopes, the governor now prepared for an expedition up this river, under the full expectation of exploring these advantageous discoveries, and of taking immediate possession of this fancied source of wealth. It is necessary to observe, that Wingina, the Indian king before mentioned, who appears to have been sovereign of the country about the mouth of the Roanoke river, had been always secretly inimical to the English, or to their settling in the country, and was restricted in the exercise of his animosity to them, only by the influence of the friendly Granganimeo his brother. This did not, however, prevent him from injuring them, whenever he could do it with secrecy; and it may be inferred from circumstances, that he acted on this occasion, in concert with Menatonon. Immediately before the English set out upon their expedition, the artful Wingina despatched messengers to the several nations of Indians, who inhabited the banks of the Moratuck, to apprise them of their intended excursion, and to spread amongst them suspicions of the evil views and intentions of the English. Lane pursued his course in boats, up the Moratuck; but, strangely confiding in this treacherous prince, who, the better to deceive him, had furnished him with guides, he had neglected to take any provisions with him, imagining he should be supplied by the natives on each bank. The consequence of which was, that he soon became reduced to extreme difficulties. After rowing four days against a strong current, he found the country wholly deserted and laid waste by the inhabitants. Still, however, in hopes of better fortune, he pursued his course under the auspices of his

guides, until at length they had nothing to subsist on but the flesh of two large dogs, which they were compelled to eat. Their perseverance being now wearied out, they returned to Roanoke island much chagrined and disappointed.*

SEC. III.
1585.

In addition to the foregoing disappointment, they had, on their return, the disagreeable intelligence of the death of prince Granganimeo, which happened during their excursion. While this friendly Indian lived, his influence, supported by the authority of Ensenore, their father, had, as before observed, restrained the animosity of Wingina. It is not difficult to account for this authority of Granganimeo, if we believe that their manner of descent was similar to that of the other tribes of North American Indians. The brother of the reigning chief was heir apparent, and succeeded to the sovereignty in bar of the children of the chief.† This rule of descent might probably be founded on a very substantial reason, under a government purely military. It would in such case be obviously necessary, that the reigning chief should be capable of discharging the military duties of his station; which an infant or minor, would be incapable of performing. This reason might also apply to an explanation of Wingina's authority as a sovereign during the life of his father, Ensenore; who, now grown old and infirm, and incapable of going into battle with his enemies, might have delegated, if not totally resigned his power into the hands of his eldest son Wingina. Another circumstance, arising on the death of Granganimeo, deserves to be noticed here; it seems to have been a custom, generally prevalent with the Indians of this part of America and Virginia, to change their name, when any extraordinary change took place either in their circumstances or feelings.‡ On this occasion Wingina assumed the name of Pemsapan, the etymology of which had probably some allusion either to the event or its consequences; and by this name alone he is designated by some historians.

*Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 239. Burk's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 57.

† Burk (Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 58,) cites, in support of this, the instance of Powhatan, in Virginia.

‡ Burk (Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 58,) cites here similar instances among the successors of Powhatan, from Stith's Hist. of Virginia, p. 155. The same or a similar custom prevails with the negroes on the coast of Guinea, or the gold coast, in Africa. They assume an additional name on every remarkable action of their lives, so that the best memory is unable to retain all the names of a man who has been much in action. (See the Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 17, p. 104.) May not these additional names, however, be considered as *titles* of nobility as-

SEC. III. During the absence of the governor, it had been reported
 1585. that he and his party were lost; and the little influence, which Ensenore, (who upon all occasions, seems to have partaken in the friendly sentiments of his son Granganemeo, towards the English,) had, with his eldest son Wingina, now called Pemisapan, seems to have been, upon this report, nearly extinguished. Accordingly, Pemisapan was still ever secretly contriving mischief against them. He had projected a scheme of starving the English out of the island Roanoke, by neglecting to plant or cultivate it. This scheme, however, seems to have been in some measure defeated, by a combination of fortunate circumstances, which took place in the spring of the following year. The chiefs of several other nations, had manifested an amicable disposition towards governor Lane and his settlers. The king of the Chowanocks, though from his former conduct, he must still have been a secret enemy, sent a present of pearl to Mr. Lane; and Okisko, king of the Weopopomewks, (another powerful nation, possessing all that country from Albemarle sound and Chowan river, to Chesapeake bay,) in March, 1586, came himself, with twenty-four of his principal men, to own subjection to the queen of England. The aged and cautious Ensenore, induced thereto, perhaps, more zealously by the pacific conduct of these other chiefs, exerted on this occasion, the little influence he had with his son, and prevailed upon him to relinquish his schemes, and to plant in corn, a considerable extent of ground, both on the island and main land.

1586. This apparent prosperity of the adventurers, added to the influence of Ensenore, preserved peace for a short time with this savage. But on the death of Ensenore, which happened on the twentieth of April, this year, all check on his natural disposition being now removed, he meditated a plan for the utter extirpation of the colonists. Under pretence of solemnizing his father's funeral, he issued secret orders to the Indians, to rendezvous at a certain place, with intent to fall on the English with the whole force of the nation. The plot, however, previous to the time fixed for its execution, was discovered to the English, by their prisoner Skiko, the son of Menatonon. An attempt was made to retaliate on the Indians, by seizing

sumed by themselves, or granted by their chiefs, in reference to some great exploit? Most of the titles of the Emperor Napoleon's nobility had reference to some great military achievement.

their canoes, and thus keeping them in a state of siege on the island; but they took the alarm, and after a loss of six men escaped into the woods. After various stratagems on both sides, Pemisapan was, at last, on the first of June, drawn into an ambush, with eight of his chiefs, and slain.*

SEC. III.
1586.

The colonists now began to be in so much distress, from want of food, that they were under the necessity of dispersing themselves into different parts of the country, in quest of the means of subsistence. It was, in consequence of this, that Captain Stafford, who had, with a small party, been stationed on the southern part of Cape Look-out, to shift for themselves, and to "see if they could spy any sail pass by the coast," sent, on the ninth of June, intelligence to Mr. Lane, that he discovered twenty sail of ships.†

Queen Elizabeth, being now at war with Spain, was advised to attack her settlements in America, and to surprise the Spanish galleons. In prosecution of this scheme, a fleet of twenty sail had been fitted out and placed under the command of Sir Francis Drake. This distinguished naval commander, after many important successes against the Spaniards, in the West Indies and South America, and attacking and reducing Fort St. John's, near St. Augustine's, in Florida, had, according to the special orders of queen Elizabeth, sailed to visit this English colony, and to yield it all possible assistance.‡ Arriving off Cape Look-out, and discovering a distant fire, the admiral sent his skiff ashore with some of his men, who found captain Stafford and his party there, and took them on board their ships. By their direction, the fleet proceeded the next day, to the place which the English colonists made their port; but some of the ships, being of too great draught to enter, anchored about two miles from the shore, "without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea."|| From this place Drake, who had been told that the colony was in distress for want of provisions, sent a letter by captain Stafford to governor Lane, then at his fort on Roanoke island, about six leagues distant, making him an offer of supplies. The next day, Mr. Lane and some of his company

*Burk's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 57, 60. Holmes's Annals, Vol. 1, p. 122.

†Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 237. Robertson's Hist. of America, (b. 9.) Vol. 4, p. 166. Burk's Hist. of Virginia, Vol. 1, p. 60.

‡Oldmixon's British Empire in America, Vol. 1, p. 214.

||According to the above description of the place where Drake arrived and anchored, it is most probable, that it was what is now called Roanoke inlet.

SEC. III. going on board the fleet, Drake made them two proposals;
 1586. either to leave them a ship, a pinnace, and several boats, with sufficient masters and mariners, furnished with a month's provisions, to stay and make further discovery of the country and coasts, and so much additional provision, as would be sufficient to carry them all to England; or, to give them a passage home in his fleet. The first proposal was gratefully accepted.* A ship was accordingly selected by Drake, and delivered to the colonists; but before the provisions were entirely received on board, there arose a great storm, that continued three days, and endangered the whole fleet. Many cables were broken, and many anchors lost, and some of the ships, of which number was that destined for the use of the colonists, were compelled to put to sea. Drake now generously making the colony an offer of another ship with provisions, or a passage home, governor Lane and the principal persons with him, having considered what was expedient, requested the Admiral, under their hands, that they might have a passage to England. The rest of their company was now sent for: the whole colony was taken on board;† and the fleet, leaving America on the eighteenth of June, arrived on the twenty-eighth of July, at the English harbor of Portsmouth. Thus terminated the first English colony planted in America.

*An observation of Holmes, in his *Annals*, (Vol. 1, p. 123,) seems to explain this: "The hope, he says, of finding a rich mine in the interior part of the country, which they had already made an attempt to discover, seems to have greatly influenced their wishes to continue longer in Virginia." In support of this, he cites Hackluyt, iii. 255, 263; adding, "The mine is said to be 'notorious' among the Indians, and to lie up the river Moratuck. The narrator in Hackluyt calls it 'a marvellous and most strange mineral;' and the narrator adds, 'there wanted no great good will, from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfittd this discoverie of the mine: for that the discovery of a good mine, by the goodness of God, or a passage to the South sea, or some way to it, and *nothing else can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our nation.*" I would observe here, that this indicates very strongly the *motives* to colonization, which existed generally among the first settlers of Virginia.

†The narrator in Hackluyt (according to Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 122, note 1,) says, that when Drake sent his vessels to Roanoke, to bring away a few persons, who were left there with the baggage, "the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnaces so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with our cards, books, and writings, were by the sailors, cast overboard." This accident may have deprived us of a more full and accurate account of the proceedings and discoveries of this colony, during its year's residence in Virginia, than we otherwise have.

SECTION IV.

Attempts to relieve the first colony under governor Lane—A second colony at the same place under governor White—Sir Walter Raleigh assigns his patent—The whole of the second colony lost—Gosnold's voyage to New England—Sir Walter Raleigh's endeavours to find out the second colony at Roanoke—captain Pring's expedition—captain Bartholomew Gilbert's voyage—captain Weymouth's.

Some writers* think it proper to apologize for Sir Walter Raleigh, on account of the misfortune of the first colony, by observing, that it was not at all owing to any negligence in him ; for he continually pressed the company or those concerned with him in interest, to reflect on the necessity of supporting the colony in time ; and so solicitous was he in this business, that finding the fleet, which was preparing for that purpose under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, went on but slowly, he proposed that the first ship, that was completely manned and equipped, should be sent without staying for the rest ; which was done ; but when she arrived at the island of Roanoke, which was within a few days after Drake had departed, they found it deserted. The master of the vessel, not being able to get any information concerning them, returned to England. In a fortnight after this, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with his squadron of three small ships, but to his great disappointment found not a man upon the island. After searching in vain for the colony he had left the year before without being able to learn what had befallen it, he resolved to try the experiment of another settlement, and accordingly placed fifteen men, (some authors say fifty,) on the island. He left them furnished with all necessaries for two years, and gave them the strongest assurances, that they should be constantly and regularly supplied. But this handful of unfortunate men was soon after over-powered and destroyed by the Indians.

Not discouraged by these abortive efforts to plant a colony in America, Sir Walter Raleigh, with a perseverance natural to great minds in arduous undertakings, resolved to attempt at

SEC. IV.

1586.

Attempt to relieve the first colony under Governor Lane.

1587.

A second colony at the same

* Oldmixon's British Empire in America, Vol. 1, p. 214. Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 202.

SEC. IV. making another settlement. By an indenture of grant bearing
 1587. date the 7th of January, 29th of Eliz. 1587, (new style) he
 place un- granted unto John White, and twelve others, (therein mention-
 der Gover- ed,) "free libertie to carrie with them into the late discovered
 nor White. barbarous land, and countrie, called *Assamacomock*, alias *Win-*
gandacoia, alias *Virginia*, there to inhabit with them, such and
 so many of her Majestie's subjects, as shall willingly accompany
 them, and also divers and sundrie other prerogatives, jurisdic-
 tions, royalties and preheminencies."—By this indenture also,
 it would seem, he constituted a corporation by the name of the
 governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia, "a
 city intended to be erected and builded in Virginia aforesaid."*
 Captain John White was made governor, and the twelve assis-
 tants formed his council, in whom conjointly were vested the
 legislative and executive powers for the government of the colo-
 ny. A small fleet of three ships was fitted out and placed under
 the command of the governor captain White. About one hun-
 dred and seventeen adventurers and settlers, consisting of men,
 women, and children,† with a plentiful supply of provisions,
 were embarked on board the fleet. They were directed by Sir
 Walter to fix their plantation and erect a fort at the bay of
 Chesapeake, which had been discovered by governor Lane the
 preceding year. Thus prepared for a permanent settlement, they
 arrived on the 22d of July, 1587, at Hatteras. The governor,
 with forty of his best men, went on board the pinnace, intending
 to pass up to the island of Roanoke, in the hope of finding the
 fifteen Englishmen, whom Sir Richard Grenville had left there
 the year before; and, after a conference with them concerning
 the state of the country and of the Indians, to return to the fleet,
 and proceed along the coast to the bay of Chesapeake, according
 to the orders of Raleigh. But no sooner had the pinnace left
 the ship, than a gentleman, instructed by Fernando, the principal
 naval commander, who was destined to return soon to England,‡

* See the recital of the Indenture in Sir Walter Raleigh's indenture of assign-
 ment, in Hazard's collections, Vol. 1, p. 42.

† See a list of their names in Hazard's Collections, Vol. 1, p. 40. Although these
 adventurers composed in reality the *third* English colony attempted to be settled
 in America, counting the before-mentioned fifteen men as one, yet as Robertson
 and other historians speak of these above under White as the *second* colony sent
 out, their authority is here followed.

‡ In the Indenture of Jan. 7th, 1587, above-mentioned, (under which this colo-
 ny was attempted to be planted) mention is made of "Simon Fernando of Lon-
 don," as one of the grantees, and who was probably also one of the twelve as-

called to the sailors on board the pinnace, and charged them not to bring back any of the planters, excepting the governor and two or three others, whom he approved, but to leave them in the island; for the summer, he observed, was far spent, and therefore he would land all the planters in no other place. The sailors on board the pinnace, as well as those on board the ship, having been persuaded by the master to this measure, the governor, judging it best not to contend with them, proceeded to Roanoke. At sunset he landed with his men at that place in the island, where the fifteen men were left; but discovered no signs of them, excepting the bones of one man, whom they supposed to have been killed by the savages. The next day the governor and several of his company went to the north end of the island, where governor Lane had erected his fort, and his men had built several decent dwelling houses, the preceding year; hoping to find here some signs, if not the certain knowledge, of the fifteen men. But, on coming to the place, and finding the fort razed, and all the houses, though standing unhurt, overgrown with weeds and vines, and deer feeding within them, they returned in despair of ever seeing their looked-for countrymen alive. Orders were given the same day for the repair of the houses, and for the erection of new cottages. All the colony, consisting of one hundred and seventeen persons, soon after landed, and began to make the necessary preparations for their accommodation and comfort. It was not long before they were visited by Manteo, the faithful Indian, who had accompanied Amidas and Barlow to England; from whom they received some intelligence of the fate of their countrymen. He informed them, that the natives secretly set upon them, and killed some; the rest fled into the woods.

The colony had now been but a few days on the island, when Mr. Howe, a gentleman who was one of the council, or court of assistants as it was called, was attacked and barbarously murdered by the natives, as he happened to stroll about at a little distance from the fort, which the new planters had repaired or erected. Soon afterwards a party was sent under the command of captain Stafford, accompanied by Manteo, to a place called

sistants or counsellors. His name appears also in the list of colonists, (published in Hazard's Collections, Vol. 1, p. 40,) "who remained to inhabit in Virginia" at this time, they could not therefore be the same persons, but I find it related as above in Holmes's Annals, Vol. 1, p. 125, who probably took it from some authentic writer.

SEC. IV.
1587.

SEC. IV *Croatoan*, which, it seems, was the name of an island, or section
1587. of the great sand-beach near Wokoken, as before mentioned.* At first the natives seemed determined to oppose the captain's debarkation, but as soon as they heard Manteo's voice, they laid down their arms, and became friends. Next day a conference was held, and the Indians undertook to go to the people of Secotan and Aguasgosack, and persuade them to renew the old friendship between them and the English; and in seven days time they promised to bring their kings and great men to confirm the same at Roanoke. Among other things at that conference they told captain Stafford, that Mr. Howe was killed by the Indians of Dessamenpeake and Roanoke; and that the fifteen men, left by Sir Richard Grenville, had been treacherously surprised by three hundred Indians from Secotan, Aguasgosack, and Dessamenpeake, (in revenge of Wingina's death,†) who had set fire to their dwellings, killed some, and forced the rest to fly in their boats towards Hatteras; where they remained a short time on a small island, and then departed they knew not whither.—The seven days being expired, without any news of the Indians with the chiefs they had promised to bring to Roanoke; and the governor having received particular information from the Croatoans, that Mr. Howe's death was chiefly occasioned by the Indians of Dessamenpeake, who were also principally concerned in driving the English from Roanoke; he determined forthwith to take a proper revenge of these people; and accordingly with captain Stafford and twenty-four men, of whom Manteo was one, he set out on this expedition. Next morning by break of day they landed, and got beyond the Indian houses, and assaulted them as they were sitting round the fire. The miserable creatures fled among the reeds, where one of them was shot through; but the fury of the assailants was soon allayed, when they understood by an Indian woman, and a man who called on captain Stafford by name, and told him that those Indians whom he attacked were his friends of Croatoan, come thither to gather

* According to Williamson, (Hist. of North Carolina, vol. 1, p. 41,) there were two Indian names of two distinct places, similar in sound and differing only in a single letter, to wit: Croatoan and Croatan. The former was situated as above mentioned; but as to the latter he says, "the point of main land, now called Croatan, was called Dasamonquipo;" the same, probably, as mentioned by others under the name of Dessamenpeake. But no place, now called Croatan, nor Dessamenpeake, is designated on any of the common modern maps of North Carolina.

† Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 63.

corn, having learned that the Dessamenpeakes, on the death of Mr. Howe, had fled from their habitations, and left their corn to be devoured by the birds. The English finding themselves disappointed of their intended revenge, and touched with concern for what had happened to their friends, only gathered what corn was ripe, and left the rest growing for their use. Manteo very justly imputed their misfortune wholly to the Indians, who had not kept their promise in coming to the governor at the time they appointed.*

SEC. IV.
1588.

Two small events about this time, have been thought by historians, worth recording. On the thirteenth of August, Manteo, the friendly Indian, was baptized at Roanoke, according to a previous order of Sir Walter Raleigh; and, in reward of his fidelity and services to the English, the governor created him Lord of Dessamenpeake, the Indian nation before mentioned. And on the eighteenth, Mrs. Dare, a daughter of governor White, and wife of Ananias Dare, (one of the assistants,) was delivered of a daughter at Roanoke, who was baptized on the next Sunday, by the name of Virginia; because she was the first English child born in the country.†

The affairs of the colony seem to have been now considered in so prosperous a way, and the colonists so well pleased with their situation, that when the ships were about to return to England, and it became necessary for some person to return with them in order more speedily to promote further supplies, they all declined, except one, who was judged to be unequal to the office; and the governor, by mere importunity and solicitation, was constrained, much against his wishes, to undertake it.‡ He sailed from Roanoke on the twenty-seventh of August, and arrived in England at a most unfavourable time indeed, for the purposes he had undertaken. He found the nation in universal alarm, at the formidable preparations of Philip II. of Spain, to invade England, and collecting all its force to oppose the fleet, which the Spaniards arrogantly denominated the Invincible Armada. Ra-

* The above account is taken from *Heith's Hist. of Virg.* p. 48, 49. The author of this volume had, in the former account published, followed the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* there cited, but now perceives it to be erroneous. The fate of the fifteen men above mentioned is somewhat differently related, &c. (as in the note published.)

† *Oldmixon's British Empire in America*, vol. 1, p. 215, 216. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. 39, p. 239. *Holmes's Annals*, vol. 1, p. 124. *Burk's Hist. of Virginia*, vol. 1, p. 63.

‡ *Burk's Hist. of Virginia*, vol. 1, p. 64. *Harris's Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 203.

SEC. IV. leigh, Grenville, and all the most zealous patrons of the new
 1588. settlements, were called to act a distinguished part in those measures of defence, which the public danger demanded and rendered indispensable.

Raleigh, however, mingled with his exertions to defend his native country, some attention to the situation of the colony he had planted. Early in the following year he found leisure to fit out for its relief, at Biddeford, a small fleet, the command of which was given to Sir Richard Grenville; but the apprehensions from the Spanish armament still increasing, the ships of force prepared by Raleigh were detained in port, by order of the queen, for the defence of their own country; and Sir Richard Grenville was specially and personally commanded, not to depart out of Cornwall; where his services under Sir Walter Raleigh, who was mustering and training the forces, as lieutenant of the county, were deemed necessary.* Governor White, it seems, was also, at this time, one of the queen's council of war, and was, therefore, by reason of his office, obliged to remain in England.† These patrons of the colony still, however, found means to make some efforts for their relief in this year. Two small pinnaces, in which were fifteen planters, with suitable supplies of provision, were fitted out, and sailed for Virginia. Being more intent on a profitable voyage, than on the relief of the colony, the person or persons under whose direction they were placed, went in chase of prizes; until at length, two men of war from Rochelle, falling in with them, disabled and rifled them, and obliged them to put back for England.‡ Thus the whole year of 1588 elapsed without furnishing the colony with supplies.

1589. Soon after this, the attention of Raleigh being directed to other more splendid objects, he assigned his patent to Thomas
 Sir Walter Raleigh assigns his patent to others. Smith, William Sanderson, and several others, merchants and adventurers, whose names are enumerated in the indenture of assignment, bearing date the 7th of March, 31 Eliz. (1589,) making at the same time a donation to the assignees, of one hundred pounds lawful money of England, for the encouragement of their designs.|| Although the Spanish armada had

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 1, p. 18.

† Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 130.

‡ Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 129.

|| See this indenture of assignment at large, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 42.

been destroyed in the course of the preceding year, and the nation freed from the alarm of invasion, yet, it seems, that they were as anxiously engaged this year in retaliating on the Spaniards, by an expedition against them; so that difficulties, similar to those of the former year, might have operated to prevent any relief to the unfortunate colonists.

SEC. IV.
1589.

It was not till the year after the assignment, that governor White could go to their assistance. Above two years had now elapsed, since he had left his infant colony, under the full expectation of his speedy return to them. On the 20th of March, 1590, he sailed from Plymouth with three ships; but, taking the usual circuit by the West Indies, he, perhaps undesignedly, suffered himself to be too much delayed in the capturing of Spanish prizes. Having arrived off Roanoke inlet on the 15th of August, they fired some cannon to give notice of their arrival, and sent some men on shore at the place where the colony had been left; but no signs of their countrymen could be found. In attempting the next day, to go to Roanoke, one of the boats in passing a bar, was half filled with water; another upset, and seven men were drowned. This disaster discouraged the other sailors to such a degree, that they all seemed resolved to abandon the research: but by the persuasion and authority of the governor and one of their captains, they resumed it. The governor accordingly, taking with him nineteen men in two boats, went towards the place where he had left the English colony, and found on a tree at the top of the bank, the letters CRO, carved in fair Roman characters. This he knew to be intended to mark the place, where the planters might be found: for they had secretly agreed with him, at his departure for England, to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors, the name of the place where they should be seated, because they were at that time preparing to remove fifty miles from Roanoke island, into the main land. It had also been agreed, that in case of their distress, they should carve over the letters a cross; but, to the great comfort and encouragement of their English friends, they found not this sign. Coming to the spot where the colony had been left, they found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly inclosed with a high palisade of trees, in the form of a fort with curtains and flankers. At the right side of the entrance, on one of the chief trees or posts, the bark of which had been taken off five feet from the ground, was carved in fair

1590.

The whole
of the se-
cond colo-
ny lost.

SEC. IV. capital letters, CROATOAN, without the sign of distress.*

1590. Within the palisade they found many bars of iron, pigs of lead, iron shot, and other things of bulk and weight, scattered about, and almost overgrown with grass and weeds. In the end of an old trench, they found also, five chests, that had been carefully buried and hid by the planters; three of which governor White recognized as his own, together with many other things of his, spoiled and broken: such as his books torn from their covers, the frames of his pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and his armour almost eaten through with rust. Concluding from the circumstance of no signal of distress being left, as agreed upon, that the colony was safe at the place thus designated, they returned to their ships, and determined to sail for Croatoan on the next morning. But, a violent storm arising that night, the ships were separated from each other, and having lost their anchors and cables, durst not venture in with the shore. So they all shifted for themselves, and with various fortunes, arrived in England and Ireland.† What became of the unfortunate colonists, whom White had left in 1587, time has never yet developed. From the palisaded fort, it would seem, that they had been either attacked by, or were in much apprehension of danger from the natives before their removal. The Indians of Croatoan, having been always friendly to the English, through the influence of Manteo, who, it seems, belonged to that tribe, and was a native of that place,‡ they were induced, probably by that circumstance, to remove thither. After which no traces of them appear.

1602. This unfortunate event seems to have chilled the ardour of the English for colonization in America for many succeeding years. It was not until the year 1602, the last year of the reign of Elizabeth, that any voyage of importance was undertaken by them to North America. Some of the Virginia company, probably the most zealous of those to whom Sir Walter Raleigh had assigned his patent, resolved to fit out a vessel for that country, and accordingly made choice of captain Bartholomew Gosnold for the commander thereof, who had been one of the adventurers in a former voyage thither, and was an excellent mariner. He sailed

Gosnold's
voyage to
New Eng-
land.

* Mr. Williamson, in his *Hist. of North Carolina*, vol. 1, p. 60, (published in 1812,) says,—“Part of the works are seen at this day.”

† Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, vol. 1, p. 217. Holmes's *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 130.

‡ Holmes's *Annals*, vol. 1, p. 131.

from Falmouth on the 26th of March, 1602, in a small vessel, SEC. IV.
1602. with thirty-two persons on board, of whom it was proposed, that twelve should stay behind and form a settlement, in case he should meet with any place which he should judge convenient for that purpose. Instead of following former navigators in their unnecessary circuit by the West India isles and the Gulf of Florida, Gosnold steered due west, as nearly as the winds would permit, and is said to be the first English commander, who reached America by this shorter and more direct course.* He arrived on the 11th of May in nearly forty-three degrees of north latitude on the coast of Massachusetts. Here they met with a shallop with a mast and sails, having on board eight Indians, with whom the English had friendly intercourse.† Sailing along the shore they the next day discovered a headland in the latitude of forty-two degrees, where they came to anchor; and, taking a great number of cod-fish at this place, they called it Cape Cod, a name it still retains, holding their course along the coast as it stretched toward the south-west they discovered, on the twenty-first of May, an island, which they called Martha's Vineyard: not that, it seems, which now bears that name, but a small island now called Noman's Land. Coming to anchor, two days afterwards, at the north-west part of the island, they were visited the next morning by thirteen of the natives, with whom they had a friendly traffic. On the twenty-fourth they discovered another island, which they named Dover Cliff, now called Gay Head; and the next day came to anchor at a quarter of a mile from the shore, in a large bay, which they called Gosnold's Hope, which is said to be the same as that now called Buzzard's Bay. On

* Although Robertson, and other historians after him, have observed as above, that Gosnold was the first English commander who sailed to America by this shorter course, yet, unless it be understood of that part of America then called Virginia, it cannot well be admitted. For undoubtedly Cabot, (who, though not an Englishman, yet sailed under English colours and with English seamen,) and all those, who had previously visited Newfoundland, particularly Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sailed this shorter and direct course.

† These natives first hailed the English; who answered them. After signs of peace, and a long speech made by one of the Indians, they went boldly on board the English vessel, "all naked," saving loose deer skins about their shoulders, "and neer their wastes seal skins tyed faste like to Irish dimmie trowses." One of them, who seemed to be their chief, wore a waistcoat, breeches, cloth-stockings, shoes, and a hat; one or two others had a few things of European fabric; and "these with a piece of chalke described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland; they spake divers christian words." Their vessel is supposed to have belonged to some unfortunate fishermen of Biscay, wrecked on the coast. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 142.

SEC. IV. the northern side of this bay was the main land ; and on the southern, four leagues distant, was a large island, which, in honour of the queen, they called Elizabeth. On the twenty-eighth they consulted together upon a fit place for a plantation ; and concluded to settle on the western part of Elizabeth island. In this island there is a pond or lake of fresh water, two miles in circumference, in the centre of which is a small rocky islet of about an acre of ground, and on this islet they began to erect a fort and store-house. While the men were occupied in this work, Gosnold crossed the bay in his vessel ; went on shore ; trafficked amicably with the natives ; and having discovered the mouths of two rivers, supposed to be the two harbours of Apooneganset and Pascamanset, on one of which the town of New Bedford is now built, in the southern part of the State of Massachusetts, returned in five days to the island. In nineteen days the fort and store-house were finished ; but discontents arising among those who were to have remained in the country, it was concluded, after deliberate consultation, to relinquish the design of a settlement. Having loaded their ship with a cargo of sassafras and cedar wood, furs, and some other commodities of the country, sufficient to indemnify the charges of the expedition, they set sail for England. The whole company, having left their little fort on the 18th of June, arrived at Plymouth the 23d of July following.*

Sir Walter Raleigh's endeavors to find out the second colony at Roanoke. It would be doing great injustice to Sir Walter Raleigh to omit an event, appertaining to this year, which displays both his sense of honour and humanity in a very conspicuous point of view. Uneasy, as he manifestly appears to have been, at the abandonment of the colony left at Roanoke in 1587, and which had been sent there under his auspices, he had sent vessels four different times prior to the present instance, at his own charges, for their relief ; but these had returned without doing any thing effectual ; some having followed their own profit, and others returned with frivolous excuses. Still not abandoning all hope

* Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 219. Modern Universal History, vol. 39, p. 240. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 143. The following note from Holmes's Annals, *ibid*, may perhaps gratify the curious. In 1797 the reverend Dr. Belknap with several other gentlemen went to the spot, which was selected by Gosnold's company on Elizabeth Island, and had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's store-house : the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighbouring beach ; the rocks of the islet being less moveable, and lying in ledges." Belknap's Biog. ii. 115.

of finding them, he resolved to make one effort more to discover and relieve them. Having accordingly purchased and fitted out a bark for that purpose, he gave command of her to Samuel Mace, an able mariner and an honest, sober man, who had been at Virginia (North Carolina) twice before. He sailed from Weymouth in March, 1602, and fell on the American coast, in about the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude; spent a month there; proceeded along the coast; but returned home without any thorough attempt to effectuate the purpose of the voyage. They offered an excuse, either real or pretended, that the extremity of weather and the loss of some ground tackle forced and deterred them from seeking the port of Hatteras.*

The voyage of Gosnold, however inconsiderable it may appear, is said to have had important effects. He had found a healthy climate, a rich soil, and good harbours, far to the north of the place where the English had attempted to make a settlement. Its distance from England was diminished, almost a third part, by the new course he had pointed out. The pacific reign of James had now succeeded to that of Elizabeth, whose government, as well from her parsimony, as from the happy content of her subjects under it, had not been favourable to colonization. In addition to which, the frequent wars with Spain, which had afforded her subjects such constant employment, and presented to them such alluring prospects both of fame and wealth, having now ceased under James, persons of high rank and ardent ambition became impatient to find some exercise for their activity and talents. New plans for establishing colonies in America were the result. Under all these circumstances, the reverend Mr. Richard Hackluyt, a prebendary of the cathedral of Westminster, (to whom England is said to have been more indebted for its American possessions than to any other man of that age, and whose valuable collection of voyages and discoveries, published by him in the year 1589, diffused a relish among his countrymen for the sciences of geography and navigation,) was induced to project a scheme for sending in the year 1603, a small fleet on a voyage, similar to that of Gosnold's, and prevailed upon several gentlemen and merchants of Bristol to embrace and join in the undertaking.† Previous to any preparations for

1603.

Captain
Pring's ex-
pedition.

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 219, 220.

† It is said in Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 222, that Mr. Hackluyt "had a prebend in the cathedral of Bristol," and in the Modern Universal History, vol. 39, p. 240, that he was "a Prebendary in the cathedral of Bristol." This corres-

SEC. IV. this purpose, it is said to have been deemed by them necessary
 1603. to apply to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was still looked upon as the proprietor of Virginia, in order to procure his licence. On Mr. Hackluyt's application to Sir Walter, they received all the encouragement they could desire; for he not only granted them a licence under his hand and seal, but also made over to them all the profits which should arise from the voyage. After they were thus empowered, they raised a joint stock of a thousand pounds, and fitted out two small vessels, the one called the *Speedwell*, commanded by captain Martin Pring, of the burthen of fifty tons, with thirty men and boys; the other a bark of 26 tons, called the *Discoverer*, commanded by Mr. William Brown, who had under him a mate and eleven men, and a boy.* These vessels were victualled for eight months, and had a large cargo on board, consisting of all sorts of goods that were deemed proper for barter in that country. They sailed from King's Road, near Bristol, on the 20th of March, 1602-3. Being hindered by contrary winds, they put into Milford Haven, where they continued till the 10th of April following, and then proceeded on their voyage. They did not pursue the short route, which Gosnold took, but went by the Azores, and arrived without any remarkable accident, in the beginning of June, on the coast of North America, between the forty-third and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude, among a multitude of islands, in the mouth of Penobscot bay. Ranging the coast to the south-west, and passing the Saco, Kennebunk, York, and Piscataqua rivers, they proceeded into the bay of Massachusetts. They went on shore here, but not finding any sassafras-wood, the collection of which was a great object of their voyage, they coasted further along, till they entered a large sound, supposed to be what is now called the Vineyard sound, and came to an anchor on the north side of it. Here they landed at an excellent harbour in a bay, which, in honour of the mayor of Bristol, they called Whitson bay; mentioned to be in about forty-one degrees and some few minutes north latitude. Having built a hut, and inclosed it with a bar-

ponds with his influence with the Bristol merchants. He is however styled, "Prebendary of Westminster," in the first Virginia charter of 1606, and by Robertson. He might, perhaps, have had a prebend in both cathedrals at different times.

* These vessels appear very small to us at this day for such long voyages; but, according to Hume, such was the mode of building them at that time. See his Appendix to queen Elizabeth's reign.

ricade, some of them kept constant guard in it, while others were employed in collecting sassafras in the woods. The natives came and trafficked with them, forty or fifty in a company, and sometimes upward of an hundred, and would eat and drink, and be merry with them. Observing a lad in the company, playing upon a guitar, they seemed much pleased at it, got round about him, and taking hands, danced twenty or thirty in a ring, after their manner. It was observed, that they were more afraid of two mastiff dogs, which the English had with them, than of twenty men ; so that when our voyagers wished to get rid of their company, they let loose one of these mastiffs, upon which the natives would immediately shriek out, and run away to the woods. After remaining here about seven weeks, the bark was despatched, well freighted with sassafras, for England. Soon after her departure, some alarming appearances of hostility began to be manifested on the part of the Indians ; which might, probably, be owing to the above mentioned improper conduct towards them, as well as the erecting a fortification in their country ; for not long afterwards, when most of the men were absent from the fort, a large party of Indians came and surrounded it, and would probably have surprised it, if the captain of the ship had not fired two guns, and alarmed the workmen in the woods. This induced them to accelerate the lading and departure of the ship, for which they had procured a very valuable cargo of skins and furs, in exchange for the commodities which they had bartered with the Indians. Amongst the curiosities which they brought back with them, was a canoe, or boat used by the inhabitants, made of the bark of the birch tree, sewed together with twigs, the seams covered with rosin and turpentine ; and though it was seventeen feet long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine persons, it did not weigh sixty pounds. These boats the inhabitants rowed, or rather paddled, with two wooden instruments, similar to baker's peels, by which they went at a great rate. On the day before the embarkation of the English, an incident occurred, which seemed to confirm the suspected hostility of the natives. They came in great numbers to the woods where the English had cut the sassafras, and set fire to it ; which seemed to be designed to let them know, that they would preserve nothing in their country, which should invite such guests to visit them again. On the ninth of August our voyagers quitted the coast, and sailed for England, arriving in the mouth of

SEC. IV.

1603.

SEC. IV. the Bristol channel in five weeks ; but meeting there with contrary winds, they could not reach King's road before the second of October : and they had the satisfaction of finding that their bark was safely arrived a fortnight before them.*

1603.

Captain
Bartholo-
mew Gil-
bert's voy-
age.

In the same year also, and while Pring was employed in this voyage, captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who had been the year before with captain Gosnold, was sent by some merchants of London, on a further discovery, to the southern part of Virginia ; it being intended also, that he should search for the lost English colony. Sailing from Plymouth on the tenth of May, in a bark of fifty tons, by the way of the West Indies, where they made a short stay, they arrived on the 25th of July, off the Capes of Chesapeake bay, which Gilbert was very desirous of entering ; but the wind blowing hard, with a high sea, though they beat about for two or three days, they could not get in, and were obliged to bear away to the eastward. On the twenty-ninth they anchored about a mile from the shore ; and the captain, with four of his best men and two lads, landed in their boat. Being provided with arms, he and his men marched some short distance up into the country : but, in their march, they were set upon and overpowered by the natives, and all killed ; and it was not without difficulty, that the two young men who were left with the boat, could reach the ship again to bring the news. They being now, in all, but eleven men and boys in the ship, were afraid to venture the loss of any more of their small company ; and their provisions growing short, the master, Henry Sute, who had taken the command, resolved, though they were in extreme want of wood and water, to return homewards ; which they did, and arrived in the river Thames about the end of September.†

* Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 222. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. 39, p. 240. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 145.

† Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 223. Holmes's Annals, Vol. 1, p. 146. The above account of Gilbert's voyage is extracted from Harris's Voyages, with which Holmes's Annals correspond. But it may be proper to be informed, that Oldmixon in his British Empire in America, Vol. 1, p. 219, gives a different relation of this expedition. He says, that "Gilbert proceeded from the Carribee islands to the bay of Chesapeake, in Virginia, *being the first that sailed up into it, and landed there.* The Indians set upon him and his company in the woods ; and captain Gilbert and four or five of his men, were killed by their arrows : upon which his crew returned home." But, as the above mentioned collection of voyages by Harris, is not only posterior in time, but also rather a more authentic work than Oldmixon's, the narration of the former is here adopted in the text. There is an obscurity, however, in Harris's account of it as to the *place* where Gil-

The pacific disposition of king James, and his inexperience in the usage and law of nations, had induced him to suppose, that by his mere accession to the throne of England, peace was thereby restored between England and Spain, he having been always before, as king of Scotland, in amity with Spain. He had on the 23d of June, 1603, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even proposed by Spain, recalled all the letters of marque that had been granted by Elizabeth against the nation; and, although a sort of peace actually existed between Spain and England from the commencement of his reign, yet it was not until the 18th of August, 1604, that the treaty of peace was signed between the two nations.* This event removed many of the obstacles that stood in the way of the British trade, and opened to their ships a free access to many countries, to which they had not before resorted. The old passion for the discovery of a north-west passage, now revived again in its full vigour. With a view to this discovery, two noblemen of the highest rank and influence in the kingdom, were induced to send out a ship under the command of captain George Weymouth. Writers who have mentioned this voyage, differ so widely, and give such contradictory accounts of it, that it has become scarcely entitled to notice. It seems that they sailed on the last day of May, 1605, from Dartmouth, (some say, from the Downs,) and met with nothing of consequence, till such time as they judged themselves to be very near the coast of what was then called Virginia; but the winds carrying them to the northward, in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 30'$, and their wood and water beginning to grow extremely short, they became very desirous of seeing land. By their charts they had reason to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their instructions, yet they found none in a run of almost 50 leagues. After running this distance they discovered several islands, on one of which they landed, and called it St. George.† Within

SEC. IV.

1604.

1605.

Captain
Wey-
mouth's
voyage.

bert was killed. As only a day or two intervened between his quitting the capes of Chesapeake and the time of his landing, it would seem that it could not be higher to the north-eastward than the Hudson's river. More probably, however, some where along the sea-coast of Maryland, or state of Delaware.

* Hume's Hist. of Eng. end of ch. 45, in James I. reign.

† In Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 223, this island is said to be that which is now called Long island, near New York. But if they bore directly in for the land when they were in $40^{\circ} 30'$ latitude, as said above, they would most probably make it in the same parallel; and the island, which they called St. George would then probably be Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard. The improbability

SEC. IV. three leagues of this island, they came into a harbour, which
 1605. they called Pentecost harbour, because it was about Whitsuntide they discovered it.* They then sailed up a great river forty miles;† set up crosses in several places, and had some traffick with the natives. In July they returned to England, carrying with them five Indians; one a Sagamore, and three others of them, persons of distinction, whom they had taken as prisoners.‡

of their being able to ascertain, during their short stay, whether Long island was an island or part of the main land, opposes the idea, that the island, which they called St. George, was Long island.

* In the Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 240, this harbour is said to be the mouth of Hudson's river. But if the island just before mentioned be either Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard, and the harbour which they called Pentecost, was "within three leagues of the island," it must have been some harbour on the southern coast of Massachusetts, near to those islands.

† In the Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 240, this river is supposed to be the Hudson, which supposition corresponds with that of the island which they called St. George, being Long island. It is proper to mention two other suppositions very widely different. Dr. Belknap (in his Amer. Biog. ii. 149) is satisfied, that it was the Penobscot in Maine, and Oldmixon (Brit. Emp. in Amer. vol. 1, p. 220) seems as certain, that it was "the river Powhatan, southward of the bay of Chesapeake," now called James river, in Virginia. *In medio tutissimus ibis*, may be here adopted; and it seems not too hazardous to conclude, (though such conclusion may be denominated mere conjecture from circumstances) that the island, they called St. George, might be Martha's Vineyard, Pentecost harbor—Buzzard's bay, and the *great* river up which they sailed forty miles,"—Long island sound. The shallowness of the Connecticut river at its mouth, and the narrowness of it "forty miles up," would seem to preclude a supposition of that being the river meant by the voyagers: though this has been supposed by Beverly, in his Hist. of Virg. (B. 1, ch. 1, sec. 12,) yet, in his preface to that work, (edition of 1722,) out of contradiction to Oldmixon, with whom he had a personal quarrel in England, he observes, that capt. Weymouth's voyage was only to Hudson's river.

‡ See Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 223. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 150.

SECTION V.

The progress of the French in settling colonies in America—A settlement of convicts on the Isle of Sables, by the French—Chauvin's voyages to the St. Lawrence—Pontgrave's voyage to the same—The Sieur de Mont's commission, and voyages under it—His patent revoked—Pontreincourt's endeavours to fix a settlement at Port Royal, Nova Scotia—The Sieur de Mont obtains a restoration of his grant—and establishes the first permanent colony in Canada, under the conduct of Champlain.

The connection which necessarily subsists between the events attending the early settlements of the French in Acadia, now called Nova Scotia, and Canada, and those of the former British colonies in North America, must apologise for a short digression here, in taking a cursory notice of the early progress of those French settlements. In doing this it will be necessary to carry the attention of the reader a few years back.

SECT. V.

1598.

The progress of the French in settling colonies in North America.

That great and good monarch, Henry IV. of France, (having acceded to the throne of that kingdom in the year 1589,) as soon as he had defeated his enemies, the Guise faction, and obtained quiet possession of the crown, with a liberality of mind, which always marked his character, issued his edict of the 4th of July, 1590, whereby he revoked those extorted from his predecessor by the Leaguers, and established religious liberty of conscience throughout his dominions. A restless disposition, however, which appears to have too much attended the conduct of the Hugonots or Protestants of France, throughout their unhappy civil wars of the sixteenth century, did not permit them to rest quiet with these concessions of Henry.* Indeed, as he had been a Protestant and one of their leaders, and had obtained the crown principally by their means, they might naturally look up to him for greater favours than a mere toleration. Be this as it may, he thought it proper to yield to the importunities of their deputies, who had for that purpose waited upon him at Nantz, where he then was, by issuing another edict, bearing date the 13th of April, 1598, since well known and celebrated in history under the emphatic denomination of "The Edict of Nantz;"

* The Hugonots, or Protestants of France, are said to have been at this time, about a twelfth part of the nation.—Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. vol. 2, p. 183.

SECT. V. the revocation of which by Louis XIV., in the year 1685, is said to have been productive of much mischief to France for many succeeding years. By this edict of Henry, the Protestants were not only restored to the free enjoyment of their religion, and a safe protection in their civil rights by the establishment of particular tribunals of justice for them, but they were also advanced to an almost equal share of political liberty, by a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour in the state.*

A settle-
ment of
convicts
on the isle
of Sables,
by the
French.

France, having thus recovered some tranquillity after fifty years of internal commotion since her last attempts at colonization in 1549,† was now enabled to exercise again, the enterprising talents of her citizens. In the same year in which the Protestants obtained from Henry the edict of Nantes, (1598,) the Marquis de la Roche, a Breton gentleman, receiving from the king a commission to conquer Canada, and other countries, not possessed by any christian prince, sailed from France, in quality of lord-lieutenant of those countries, taking with him a person of the name of Chetodel, of Normandy, for his pilot. The marquis, having most absurdly pitched upon the isle of Sables, (which lies about fifty leagues to the south-east of Cape Breton, is about ten leagues in circumference, and is itself a mere sand-bank,) as a proper place for a settlement, left there about forty malefactors, the refuse of the French jails.‡ The history of those poor wretches, contains the history of the expedition. The marquis, after cruising for some time on the coast of Nova Scotia, returned to France, without being able to carry them off the miserable island; and is said to have died of grief for having lost all his interest at that court. As for his wretched colony, they must all have perished, had not a French ship been wrecked upon the island, and a few sheep driven upon it at the same time. With the boards of the wreck they erected huts; with the sheep, they supported nature: and when they had eat them up, they lived on fish. Their clothes wearing out, they made coats of seal's skins; and in this miserable condition, they spent seven years, till Henry IV. ordered Chetodel to go and bring them back to France. Chetodel found only twelve of them alive; and when he returned, Henry had the curiosity to

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 24, p. 334, 342, 377.

† See before, p. 38.

‡ See a like colony of convicts authorized by the commission to Quartier, before mentioned, and referred to in a note in p. 37.

see them in their seal-skin dresses. Their appearance moved this generous and humane monarch so much, that he ordered them a general pardon for their offences, and gave each of them fifty crowns to begin the world with anew.*

Though la Roche's patent had been very ample and exclusive, yet private adventurers still continued to trade to the river St. Lawrence, without any notice being taken of them by the government. Amongst others was one Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, who had made several trading voyages for furs, to Tadoussac.† Upon the death of the Marquis de la Roche, his patent was renewed in favour of Mons. de Chauvin, a commander in the French navy, who put himself under the direction of Pontgravé; as the latter might justly be supposed, from his frequent trading voyages to that country, to have acquired a considerable knowledge of it. In the year 1600, Chauvin, attended by Pontgravé, made a voyage to Tadoussac, where he left some of his people, and returned with a very profitable quantity of furs to France. These people, whom he left, would have perished by hunger or disease, during the following winter, but for the compassion of the natives. Chauvin, in the next year, (1601,) made a second voyage with the same good fortune as the first, and sailed up the St. Lawrence as high as Trois Rivières; but while preparing for a third voyage, (in the year after,) he died.

The many specimens of profit to be made by the Canadian trade, led the public to think favourably of it. M. de Chatte, the governor of Dieppe, succeeded Chauvin as governor of Canada. De Chatte's scheme seems to have been, to have carried on that trade with France, by a company of Rouen merchants and adventurers. An armament for this purpose, was accordingly equipped, and the command of it given to Pontgravé, with powers to extend his discoveries up the river St. Lawrence. Pontgravé, with his squadron, sailed in 1603, having in his company Samuel Champlain, afterwards the famous founder of Quebec, who had been a captain in the navy, and was a man of talents and enterprise. Arriving at Tadoussac, they left their ships there, and in a long-boat they proceeded up the river as far as the falls of St. Louis, and then returned to France.

SECT. V.
1598.

1600.
Chauvin's
voyages to
the St.
Lawrence.

1603.
Pont-
grave's
voyage up
the St.
Lawrence.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 408.

† Tadoussac is a town, or place, at the mouth of the Saguenay, a small river emptying into the St. Lawrence from the north, considerably below Quebec, and ninety leagues from the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

SECT. V. While Pontgravé was engaged in this voyage of 1603, De Chatte died, and was succeeded in his patent by Pierre du Gast, 1603. Sieur de Monts, styled in the king's commission to him, "gentilhomme ordinaire de notre chambre." The tenor of his letters patent, (as we have it at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 45,) bearing date November 8th, 1603, appears to have been as well for colonizing the country then called Acadié, (which comprehended Canada, as well as what is now called Nova Scotia,) as for encouraging the fur-trade carried on there. A difference of opinion is said to have taken place, on the occasion of granting these letters patent, between king Henry and his very able minister, the duke of Sully. The duke declared roundly, that all settlements in America above the fortieth degree of north latitude, could be of no utility; and that all pretended advantages insisted upon in their favour, were but so many commercial chimeras. Here again, (observes the historian,*) the monarch was right and the minister wrong, as we know by experience. By these letters patent, the Sieur de Monts was constituted and appointed the king's lieutenant-general, to represent his person, in the country, territory, coasts, and confines of Acadié, from the fortieth degree of north latitude to the forty-sixth. The extent of this portion of the continent was, from that part of the coast of New Jersey, in the latitude of Philadelphia, to the northern extremity of Cape Breton. Had the Sieur de Monts fixed his settlement or colony, at this time, on that part of the continent as low as, or near to the fortieth degree, which he might have done, the country being then unsettled by any Europeans, and entirely open to him, very different indeed might have been the present situation of affairs in North America. But it is probable, that as all northern furs are said to be much better than those of a southern climate, the French found greater profits from that trade in Canada, than the English did from the southern part of the continent, which they were at this time exploring. The Sieur de Monts, was therefore, soon enabled to form a company under his patent, more considerable than any that had yet undertaken that trade. For their further encouragement, it seems, the king, soon after the former patent to the Sieur de Monts, granted also to him and his associates, an exclusive right to the commerce of peltry in Acadié, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Thus encouraged, they fitted out four ships.

The Sieur
de Mont's
commis-
sion, and
voyages
under it.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 24, p. 406.

De Monts, in person, took the command of two of them, and was attended by Champlain, and a gentleman called Pontrincourt, with a number of volunteer adventurers.* Another of the ships was destined to carry on the fur trade at Tadoussac; and the fourth was given to Pontgravé, who was ordered, after touching at Canso, (the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia) to scour the sea between Cape Breton and St. John's islands, and to clear it of all interlopers.

SECT. V.
1604.

De Monts, with his two ships, sailed from Havre de Grace on the 7th of March, 1604, and after a passage of only one month, arrived at Cap de la Hève, in Nova Scotia. In a harbour very near this cape, to the south-west, he met with an interloping vessel, commanded by one Rossignol, a Frenchman, who was trading there with the Indians without license; for which reason he seized his ship and cargo, and called the harbour Port Rossignol. Coasting thence further to the south-west, he arrived at another haven, which his people named Port Mutton, on account of a sheep which either leaped or tumbled overboard here, and was drowned. From this port they coasted to the peninsula to the south-west; doubled cape Sable, and came to anchor in the bay of St. Mary. They afterwards proceeded to examine an extensive bay on the north-west of the peninsula, to which they gave the name of La Baye Francois, but which is now called the bay of Fundy. On the south-eastern side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious bason, environed with hills, and bordered with fertile meadows. Pontrincourt was so delighted with this place, that he determined to make it his re-

* Some were Protestants and some Catholics. De Monts himself was a Calvinist; but the king allowed him and his people the exercise of their religion in America. A passage is cited in Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 147, from Charlevoix, wherein it is said, that De Monts engaged on his part, to establish the *Catholic* religion among the natives. But the original letters patent, as in Hazard's Collections, above cited, do not warrant this assertion; and it is not probable, from the well known character of Henry, that any such stipulation was made by verbal agreement. It is true, that in the preamble of the letters patent, Henry sets forth his resolution, (as was usual in the first planting of America, both North and South,) to cause the native inhabitants of that country to be converted, "au Christianisme et en la créance et profession de *notre* foi et religion." But this seems to be explained further along in the letters, where he authorizes De Monts, "les (peuples) appeler, faire instruire, provoquer et emouvoir à la connoissance de Dieu et à la lumiere de *la foi et religion chretienne*." It is not impossible, but that Charlevoix, being of the order of Jesuits, might very dexterously suppose, that the *Christian* religion could mean nothing else than the *Catholic* religion, and so set it down.

SECT. V. sidence, and proposed to send for his family, and settle there.

1604. Upon which De Monts, in virtue of his commission, made him a grant of it; and Pontrincourt gave it the name of Port Royal, which grant was afterwards, in the year 1607, confirmed to him by Henry IV. It has since been known by the name of Annapolis Royal. From Port Royal or Annapolis, De Monts sailed still further up the Bay of Fundy, in search of a copper mine, then said to lie at the head of that bay. While De Monts was thus engaged in his coasting voyage, Champlain, who had been despatched in a long-boat, immediately after their arrival at Cap de la Hève, to search for a proper place for a settlement, in examining the Bay of Fundy, pursuant to the instructions of De Monts, came to a large river on the north-west side of the bay, which he called St. John's, originally called by the natives Ouygondy. From this river, Champlain coasted the bay south-westwardly twenty leagues, until he came to another river, in exploring which he met with a small island, in the middle of that river, and about half a league in circumference, to which he gave the name of *L'Isle de St. Croix*. This island he deemed to be a proper situation on which they might begin a settlement. He was soon followed thither by De Monts, who resolved to build a fort, and pass the winter there. This they did, but from their account they must have endured great hardships. The insular situation of the settlement precluded them from many advantages. When the winter came on, which was said to have been severe, they found themselves without fresh water, without wood for firing, and without fresh provisions. These inconveniences soon filled the little colony with diseases, particularly the scurvy. By the ensuing spring thirty-six of the colonists had died, and forty of them only were left alive. These considerations determined De Monts to remove his colony across the bay to Port Royal. The buildings at St. Croix were left standing,* but all the stores, &c., were removed. New houses

* The river in which L'isle de St. Croix lies, is called the Scoodich, which was the original name given it by the natives, but it is also called the St. Croix; and being part of the boundary between the territory of the United States and the British province of New Brunswick, it has become a stream of considerable importance. After the treaty of 1783, by which the river St. Croix was made a boundary, it became a question which was the real St. Croix; whether the river known by the name of Scoodich, or that known by the name of Magaguadavick. It has, however, been satisfactorily determined, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the Scoodich is the river, originally named St. Croix, and the line has been settled accordingly. Professor Webber, who accom-

were erected at the mouth of the river L'Equille, which empties SECT. V.
1605. itself into the basin of Port Royal, and here the people and stores were lodged. These incidents, however, induced De Monts to look out for a more comfortable situation in a warmer climate. With that view he sailed southwardly along the coast to Penobscot, Kennebec, Casco, Saco, and ultimately to Malebarre, which was at that time the French name of Cape Cod. He explored divers of these rivers, bays, and harbours; particularly the Kennebec, up which he went a considerable distance. But the natives appearing numerous and unfriendly, and his company being small, he returned to St. Croix, and then to Port Royal, where he found Pontgravé, in a ship from France, with supplies, and a reinforcement of forty men. Having put his affairs into good order, he embarked for France in September, 1605, leaving Pontgravé as his lieutenant, with Champlain and Champelore, to perfect the settlement and explore the country.

M. de Monts, on his arrival in France, found, that endeavours His patent
revoked. had been made to prepossess the French court against his views. The masters of the fishing vessels, who frequented the coast of of Acadie and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which fishery is said to have been the best trade the French then had, represented to the ministry, that De Monts, on pretence of preventing the fur trade with the natives, to which by his patent he had an exclusive right, kept them from the necessities fit for fishing, and that they were upon the point of abandoning the fisheries. They succeeded so far that De Monts's patent was revoked. This did not, however, entirely discourage him. He entered into new engagements with Pontrincourt, who was then likewise in France.

Pontrincourt sailed again for America, in the year 1606, in an 1606. armed vessel from Rochelle. The colony which had been left Pontrin-
court's en-
deavours
to fix a set-
tlement at
Port Royal
Nova Sco-
tia. at Port Royal under the care of Pontgravé, was, by the time of the arrival of Pontrincourt off Cape Canso, reduced to such difficulties that Pontgrave was obliged to re-embark all the inhabitants but two, whom he left to take care of the effects he could

panied the commissioners in 1798, informed Mr. Holmes, that they found an island in this river, corresponding to the French descriptions of the island St. Croix, and near the upper end of it, the remains of a very ancient fortification, overgrown with large trees, that the foundation stones were traced to a considerable extent; and that bricks (a specimen of which he showed Mr. Holmes,) were found there. There is no doubt that these were the reliques of De Monts's fortification. Holmes's Annals, vol. I, p. 149.

SECT. V. not carry off. However, before he got out of the Bay of Fundy he heard of Pontrincourt's arrival at Canso, upon which he returned to Port Royal, where, about the same time, Pontrincourt arrived. The relief which Pontrincourt brought to this infant colony, came so seasonably, that it again held up its head; but its prosperity is said to have been in a great measure owing to the spirit and abilities of Le Carbot, a French lawyer, who, partly from friendship to Pontrincourt, and partly through curiosity, had accompanied him in this voyage. It would seem also, that about this time Pontgravé, said to be the ablest man by far of any concerned in these projected settlements, resigned his command.

1606. In the next year, 1607, Pontrincourt returned to France, and the king, induced probably by his favourable representations of the country, either confirmed or regranted to the Sieur De Monts his former exclusive privilege for the fur trade with the natives, for the purpose, as it is said, of enabling him to establish his colonies in New France. De Monts, accordingly sent over, in the year 1608, three ships with families, to commence a permanent settlement. Champlain, who took the charge of conducting this colony, after examining all the most eligible places for settlement in Acadié, and the river St. Lawrence, selected a spot at the confluence of this river and the St. Charles, another small river emptying into the former, about three hundred and twenty miles up the river St. Lawrence, from the sea. Here, on the third of July, 1608, he began to erect barracks for lodgings for his people, and to clear the ground, which he sowed with wheat and rye, and on this spot laid the foundation of Quebec, the present capital of Canada.* The succeeding events relative to Acadié and Canada, appertain to the histories of those countries. It is now our business to return to the last successful attempts of the English at colonization.

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 408, 412. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 148, 163.

SECTION VI.

A new association formed in England, to colonize America—The letters patent commonly called the first charter of Virginia—Proceedings of the Plymouth Company under this charter—The king's instructions relative to both the colonies or companies to be formed under this charter—Proceedings of the first or South Virginia Company—The first colony sent out to South Virginia under Newport, and a permanent settlement formed at James' town.

Although one hundred and eight years had now elapsed, SEC. VI.
since the discovery of the northern part of the continent of Ame- 1606.
rica, by Cabot, yet the English had as yet made no effectual set- A new as-
tlement in any part of this new world. From the coast of La- sociation
brador to the Cape of Florida, not a single European family was formed in
to be found, except the small settlement of Spaniards at St. Au- England,
gustine, and a few French at Port Royal, in Acadie. The pe- to colonize
riod, however, of English colonization was at length arrived. America.
Through the unremitting endeavours of the Rev. Mr. Richard
Hackluyt, before mentioned,* or, as some will have it, through
the zeal and exertions of captain Bartholomew Gosnold,† who
had made the successful voyage of experiment in the year 1602,
before spoken of, an association was formed in England in the
year 1606, consisting both of men of rank and men of business,
who had resolved to repeat the attempt to colonize some part of
North America. The former grant made to Sir Walter Raleigh
being now void by his conviction and attainder for high treason,
for which he now lay imprisoned in the tower, it was supposed
that a clearer way was thereby opened to any subsequent royal
grant for the same purpose. This association of respectable
merchants and gentlemen, therefore, now petitioned the king for
the sanction of his authority, to warrant the execution of their
plans. It was not a subject with which James was altogether
unacquainted: he had before this, turned his attention to consi-
der the advantages which might be derived from colonies, at a
time when he patronized his scheme for planting them in some
of the ruder provinces of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, with

* Robertson's Hist. of America, vol. 4, p. 176, 177.

† Oldmixon's British Empire in America, vol. 1, p. 220. Burk's Hist. of Vir-
ginia, vol. 1, p. 75.

SEC. VI. a view of introducing there, industry and civilization.* He was
 1606. now no less fond of directing the active genius of his English subjects, towards occupations not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, and listened with a favourable ear to their application.

The letters patent commonly called the first charter of Virginia.

He accordingly, by letters patent bearing date the tenth day of April, in the fourth year of his reign, (A. D. 1606,) at the desire and request of the applicants, divided that portion of North America which stretches from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, into two districts nearly equal, and the members of the association "into two several colonies and companies; the one consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of our city of *London*, and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be joined unto them, which desire to begin their plantation and habitation in some fit and convenient place, between four-and-thirty and one-and-forty degrees of the said latitude, amongst the coasts of Virginia, and the coasts of America aforesaid: and the other consisting of sundry knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of our cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and of our town of *Plimouth*, and of other places which do join themselves unto that colony, which do desire to begin their plantation and habitation, in some fit and convenient place between eight-and-thirty degrees and five-and-forty degrees of the said latitude, all amongst the said coasts of Virginia and America, as that coast lyeth."†

* Robertson's Hist. of America, vol. 4, p. 178. Also see note (H) at the end of this volume.

† Robertson, in his History of Virginia, (see his Hist. of America, vol. 4, p. 178,) seems to make the above division of the continent of America, an act of the king himself, assigning the reason of that division to have been, that "a grant of the whole of such a vast region to any one body of men, however respectable, appeared to the king an act of impolitic and profuse liberality. In his history of New England (same vol. p. 255,) he seems to assign a different reason: "this arrangement (meaning the division above mentioned) seems to have been formed upon the idea of some speculative refiner, who aimed at diffusing the spirit of industry by fixing the seat of one branch of the trade that was now to be opened, on the east coast of the island, (Great Britain,) and the other on the west." But whoever will attentively read the letters patent, will see that this division was made at the *special instance* and *request* of the association. It is probable, indeed, that the vast extent of the country to be colonized might have suggested to the associators a reason for requesting it to be divided into two colonies. See Hubbard M. S. N. Eng. 29, cited in Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 152, note 1. To which may be added also, the probability, that as many of the associators resided in Devonshire, at Exeter, and Plymouth, the convenience of a separate arrangement into two trading companies, might have been a further reason for the division. See Oldmixon's British Empire in America, vol. 1, p. 26.

And granted, "that Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, SEC. VI.
 Richard Hackluyt, and Edward Maria Wingfield, adventurers of 1606.
 and for our city of London, and all such others, as are, or shall
 be joined unto them of that colony, shall be called the first colony ; and they shall, and may begin their said first plantation and habitation, at any place upon the said coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four-and-thirty and one-and-forty degrees of the said latitude ; and that they shall have all the lands, &c. from the said first seat of their plantation and habitation by the space of fifty miles of English statute measure, all along the said coast of Virginia and America, towards the west and southwest, as the coast lyeth, with all the islands within one hundred miles directly over against the same sea-coast ; and also all the lands, &c. from the said place of their first plantation, &c. for the space of fifty like English miles, all amongst the said coasts, &c. towards the east and northeast, or towards the north, as the coast lyeth, together with all the islands, &c. and also all the lands, &c. from the same fifty miles every way on the sea-coast, directly into the main land, by the space of one hundred like English miles."

And likewise granted, "that Thomas Hanham and Raleigh Gilbert,* William Parker and George Popham, and all others of the town of *Plimouth*, in the county of *Devon*, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be joined unto them of that colony, shall be called the *second colony* ; and that they shall and may begin their plantation, &c. at any place between eight-and-thirty and five-and-forty degrees of the same latitude, &c." (with the like limitations as before to the *first colony*.)

"Provided always, that the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them, that first began to make their plantation, as aforesaid."

"And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, that each of the said colonies shall have a council, which shall govern and order all matters and causes which shall arise within the same several colonies, according to such laws, ordinances, and instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with our hand or sign manual, and pass under the privy seal of our realm

* Son of the famous navigator before mentioned, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 270.

SEC. VI. of England: each of which councils shall consist of thirteen
 1606. persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same instructions."

"And that also there shall be a council established here in England, which shall, in like manner, consist of thirteen persons, to be, for that purpose, appointed by us, our heirs, and successors, which shall be called our *council of Virginia*; which shall, from time to time, have the superior direction of all matters concerning the government of the said colonies."*

He moreover granted license to the several councils of the said colonies, to cause search to be made for mines of gold, silver, and copper, yielding to him the fifth part of the gold and silver,† and the fifteenth of the copper, that should be got therefrom; and to cause money to be coined.

He likewise authorized each of the aforesaid companies, to take to the said plantations and colonies, as many of his subjects as would willingly accompany them. Provided that none of the said persons should be such, as should thereafter be specially restrained by him, his heirs, or successors.

He moreover granted license to the said colonies, for their several defences, to encounter, expulse, repel, and resist all such persons, as, without their special license, should attempt either to inhabit within their several precincts, or annoy them.

He authorized also, each of the said colonies, to take all persons, with their vessels and goods, who should be found trafficking in any harbour, creek, or place within their respective limits, not being of the same colony, until they should agree to pay into the hands of the treasurer of that colony, within whose precincts they should so traffick; if the king's subjects, two and a half per cent. upon the wares and merchandizes so trafficked;

* The reader cannot but observe here, a considerable similitude, if there was not an intended imitation, of the Spanish mode of governing their colonies, adopted shortly after their conquest of Mexico and Peru, early in the sixteenth century, about the year 1511. Their colonies in America were divided into two viceroy-ships, north and south, of which Mexico and Peru were the principal provinces. Over these, the *royal council of the Indies*, (permanently held in the mother country, in the place where the monarch resides, and in which council he is supposed to be always present,) has the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. See Robertson's Hist. of America, (book 8,) vol. 4, p. 19.

† This was the proportion reserved by the king of Spain, from the Spanish mines of gold and silver in America. Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 164. Robertson's Hist. of America, vol. 4, p. 366, note 34.

if strangers, five per cent: which sums of money, for one-and-SEC. VI.
twenty years next ensuing the date of the letters patent, should1606.
be appropriated to the use of the plantation, where such traffick
should be made; at the end of which period, to be to the use
of the king.*

Also, that the said colonies might import out of any of the king's dominions into their respective plantations, all goods whatever, without paying any duty thereon, for the space of seven years next ensuing the date of the said letters patent.

He also declared, that all persons who should dwell and inhabit within either of the said colonies, and their children born therein, should have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities, as if they had been abiding, or born within the realm of England.

And finally, that all lands in each of the said colonies should be held of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East-Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and common soccage only, and not in capite.†

The most remarkable clauses in these letters patent, are those which prescribe the mode of government for these colonies, to wit: that the councils in each colony should govern according to such laws, ordinances, and instructions, as should be given and signed by the king; and that he should have the power of appointment and removal of all such persons as should compose the two councils in the colonies, as well as those at home forming the *council of Virginia*. It must be acknowledged, that these clauses do not explicitly invest the king with the power of making the laws, ordinances, and instructions, since the latter of them particularly provides that the *council of Virginia* should have the superior management and direction of all matters that shall, or may concern the government of the said colonies; which seems to imply, that the *colony of Virginia* at home, should have the power of making such laws, ordinances, and instructions, to be approved of and signed by the king. This construction seems to be warranted by what is called the *second charter*

* Robertson (in his *Hist. of America*, book 9, vol. 1, p. 181,) has construed this clause as giving to these colonies, "the unlimited permission of trade with foreigners," and mentions it as one of the articles in it "unfavourable to the interest of the parent state, as it deprived the parent state of that exclusive commerce, which has been deemed the chief advantage resulting from the establishment of colonies." It demonstrates, however, that James was, at this time, sincere in his encouragement of these colonies.

† See the letters patent at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 50.

SEC. VI. *of Virginia*, (in 1609,) wherein it is expressly so provided.

1606. But the power of appointment and removal, as before mentioned, certainly vested a great preponderating influence with the king; and he might, without doubt, propound to the council at home, what laws, ordinances, and instructions he pleased, or might reject any proposed by them. These clauses, indeed, are not to be reconciled to the present ideas of political liberty entertained in either America or England. The principles of an elective and representative government, were developed by the English revolutionists, in 1690, with such wisdom and moderation, and have been cherished by their descendants in America with so much ardour, that there are few readers among us at this day who would approve of a mode of government so repugnant to those principles. But it ought to be remembered, as the best historian of England has clearly demonstrated,* that the two first English princes of the house of Stuart, were not tyrants in their natural disposition. There is strong presumption that James I. sincerely believed, that his prerogative was, by the English constitution, paramount to the laws; or, at least, that where parliament had made no provision, his proclamations, in virtue of his sovereign authority were the substitutes of laws. And although his son Charles, instigated by the unprincipled Buckingham, manifested at the first of his reign, a strong inclination to render himself despotic, yet much allowance is to be made for him, on account of his education under his father, from whom he would naturally imbibe all that monarch's metaphysic notions of the *jure divino* power of kings.† It is certain that the arbitrary conduct of their immediate predecessors of the Tudor line, particularly queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII. seemed too strongly to authorise them in these sentiments. Although James's English subjects began in his reign to hold the privileges of parliament and the power of the house of commons in higher estimation than formerly, yet the temper of the age was not then such as to view with much scrutiny or jealousy such small aberrations from the fundamental principles of a representative government as were to be found in an abstract clause of a charter as yet unexecuted. It was therefore without hesitation or reluctance,

* Hume.

† Voltaire's character of Charles seems to be just: "He was a good husband, a good master, a good father, and an honest man; but he was an ill advised king." *Age of Louis XIV.* vol. I, p. 19.

that the patentees of these colonies prepared, under the authority of this charter, to execute their respective plans. SEC. VI.

1606.

Although only four gentlemen are specially named in the foregoing letters, as patentees for the second colony, yet the general expression, "and all others of the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, or elsewhere, who shall be joined unto them of that colony,"—necessarily implied the association of other persons with them for the purpose of managing the affairs of the second colony, which association now assumed the indiscriminate appellations of the Plymouth company, and the North Virginia colony. Accordingly, we find mention made of the interference of so high and respectable a character as Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, as one of the members of the Plymouth company, and a great promoter of the design. Mr. George Popham, one of the patentees, was his brother.* Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then governor of Plymouth, and several other west-countrymen and merchants are mentioned also as being concerned in this company.† They seem to have been more expeditious than the members of the London company, in their first attempts to carry into effect the intentions of the charter. In August, 1606, they dispatched a ship of fifty tons, under the command of Henry Challons, to make further discovery of the coasts of North Virginia; and, if it should appear expedient, to leave as many men as he could spare, in the country. On his passage, however, from the West India islands, towards the American coast, he and his crew, consisting of about thirty persons, were taken by a Spanish fleet, and carried into Spain, where his vessel was confiscated. Although this misfortune considerably abated the ardour of the Plymouth company, yet the lord chief justice Popham having, immediately after the departure of Challons, sent out, at his own expense, another ship, under the command of Thomas Hanam, one of the patentees, whose business was not so much to settle a colony as to make discovery in order thereto, the account given of the country on the return of this

* Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 10.

† Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in America, vol. 1, p. 26.—It may be proper to observe here, that, although the two colonies were to be under the direction and government of the king and his council of Virginia, yet the associators who applied to the king for his letters patent became thereby divided also in two mercantile or trading companies, one at London, the other at Plymouth, the former as proprietors of the first or South Virginia colony, and the latter as proprietors of the second or North Virginia colony, but each colony subject to the "laws, ordinances, and instructions," of the king and his council of Virginia.

SEC. VI. ship was so favourable as to cherish in a considerable degree the spirit of enterprise necessary for further undertakings.*

1606. The king's instructions relative to both colonies. Meanwhile, in order to effectuate the purpose of the letters patent, a set of *instructions*, under the king's privy seal, relative to both colonies or companies, in pursuance of the before mentioned important clause in these letters, were made out on the twentieth of November, in the same year. Whether these instructions were drawn up by the king himself, history does not expressly say.† As James was not a little vain of his talents as a writer, and not much less so as a legislator, there is great probability that they were the dictates of his own mind. If the arbitrary power which he supposed to be annexed to the prerogative of his crown, be allowed him, there is nothing in them but what was consonant to his usual exercise of that prerogative, and apparently necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the charter.

Proceedings of the first or South Virginia company. The patentees or proprietors of the *first* or *South Virginia colony*, proceeded with more effect, though not with so much expedition, as those of the *second* colony. On the receipt of their letters patent, preparations for the purpose had been undertaken by them. Three small vessels, one of a hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace of twenty, with every thing requisite for settling a colony, consisting of one hundred and five persons, were provided by the latter end of the year, and the naval command thereof, together with the care of transporting the colony, was entrusted to capt. Christopher Newport, said to be "a mariner of celebrity and experience on the American coast."

Besides the set of "orders and instructions," under the king's privy seal before mentioned, two other several sets of instruc-

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 270, and Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 154, where it is said, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges observed on this occasion, that Martin Pring (or Prinn) who went with Hanam in this voyage, (and had commanded the voyage of discovery in 1603, as before mentioned,) brought on his return from this last mentioned voyage, the most exact account of the Virginia coast, that ever came to his hand. What part of the American coast they visited does not appear in modern authors who mention this voyage. The particulars of it, however, are probably to be found in Purchas's Pilgrimages.

† Chalmers, in his Annals, (ch. 2, p. 15,) thus speaks of these instructions.—"While the council of the first colony was occupied during the summer of 1606, in procuring emigrants to accomplish the great object of its wishes, James was equally employed in a business the most arduous of any; in compiling a code of laws for an infant people. On the 20th of November, of that year, he issued "Orders and Instructions for the Colonies," under the privy seal of England.—He adds in a note thereto—"The Instructions are in Stith's Hist. of Virg. 25, 30. See them also, nearly at large, in Burk's Hist. of Virg. vol. 1, p. 85.

tions were given by the South Virginia Company, on this occasion. One to capt. Christopher Newport, concerning the naval command and transportation of the colony: the other, to him (Newport) in conjunction with capt. Bartholomew Gosnold and capt. John Ratcliff, respecting the form and administration of the government. These last, being the most important, were close sealed, and accompanied with orders that they were not to be opened for twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia. To these were added also by his majesty, by way of advice, instructions of a general nature; containing, however, one or two strange particulars, concerning a communication by some river or lake between Virginia and the Indian or South Sea.*

This little squadron sailed from Blackwall, on the Thames, on the 19th of December, 1606; but by some unlucky accidents, were for several weeks detained on the coast of England. At last, they continued their voyage, and having taken in fresh water and other necessaries at the Canaries, proceeded to the West India islands, where they arrived on the twenty-third of February, 1607, and staid amongst them, but chiefly in the island of Nevis, about five weeks. These delays seem to have afforded nourishment to some violent dissensions, which arose, during the voyage among the adventurers. Jealousy of power, and envy of preferment, seem to have been at the bottom of them. Symptoms of these dissensions made their appearance before the squadron had cleared the English coast, but they were in some measure allayed, it seems, by the prudent conduct and pious exhortations of their chaplain, the rev. Mr. Hunt. They, however, eventuated in the arrest of capt. John Smith, on the absurd charge of an intention to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and he was accordingly kept in close confinement, from the time of their departure from the Canaries, during the remainder of the voyage. Smith was, perhaps, the most extraordinary personage, of whom the early histories of North America have made mention. The accounts of his adventures in the east of Europe, seem rather to have been borrowed from some romance of the thirteenth century than taken from any real scenes of life. After these adventures, he had returned to England, his native country, and had accidentally formed an acquaintance with captain Gosnold, in the height of

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The first colony sent out to settle Virginia under Newport, and a permanent settlement formed at Jamestown.
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SEC. VI. the zeal of the latter for colonizing America. Gosnold rightly
1607. conceiving that Smith's active genius was peculiarly fitted for such an undertaking, communicated his schemes to him. They were ardently embraced by him, and he embarked with the other colonists for America.

Thus disturbed by internal dissensions, the little fleet left the West Indies, on the third of April, 1607, but not falling in with the land for three days after their reckoning was out, serious propositions were made for returning to England. The place of their destination was the old disastrous situation at Roanoke; but fortunately they were overtaken by a storm, which drove them to the mouth of the Chesapeake, which they entered on the twenty-sixth of April. The promontory on the south side of the entrance into the bay, they called Cape Henry, in honour of the then prince of Wales, who died not long afterwards, and that on the north side Cape Charles, in honour of the then duke of York, who was afterwards king Charles I. of England. Impatient to land, a party of about thirty men went on shore at Cape Henry, to recreate and refresh themselves, but they were suddenly and boldly attacked by only five savages, who wounded two of them very dangerously. On the night after this incident occurred, it was deemed by the commanders Gosnold and Newport, that the limitation of time and circumstances, under which they had been restricted from examining their sealed orders, had now expired. The box, containing them, was therefore now opened, and, on reading the said orders, it appeared—"that *Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall* were named to be the councell, and to choose a president amongst them for a yeare, who with the councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the councell, in which the president had two voyces."* Before any further proceedings under these orders, even the election of a president, they deemed it most proper first to discover and ascertain some fit "place to plant in," and accordingly, from the time of their arrival at Cape Henry, on the 26th of April, to the 13th of May, they were employed in searching for such suitable place. A large and beautiful river, which empties itself into the bay, on the west of Cape Henry, naturally first invited their attention. It was in that season of the year

*Smith's Hist. of Virg. (new edit. of 1819,) vol. 1, p. 151.

when the country is clothed in its richest verdure, and seemed to present itself to them dressed in its most attractive charms. They proceeded up this river, to which they gave the name of *James*, in honour of his majesty: though called by the natives *Powhatan*, "according to the name of a principall countrey that lyeth upon it."* Near the mouth of this river they met with five of the natives, who invited them to their town—Kecoughtan, where Hampton now stands. Here those, who went on shore, were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and "regaled with tobacco and a dance."† In return they presented to the natives beads and other trinkets. As they proceeded up the river, they met with another company of Indians armed with their bows and arrows. Their chief—Apamatica, holding in one hand his bow and arrows, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming. They made signs of peace, and were received in a friendly manner.‡ On further exploring the river they came to a peninsula, situated on the north side of it, where they were also hospitably received by the natives, whose chief—Paspaha, being informed of their intentions, offered them as much land as they wanted, and sent them a deer for their entertainment. As this peninsula was so situated, as not only to afford them convenient anchorage; but some security also against any invasion of the natives, it was fixed upon as the most eligible spot for their first colonization. Accordingly they here debark-

* Smith's Hist. of Virg. (new edit. of 1819,) vol. 1, p. 115.

† The above is taken from *Burk's Hist. of Virg.* vol. 1, p. 96, who cites "Smith," in support of this passage; but no remark of that kind, relative to Kecoughtan, appears in *Smith's Hist. of Virg.* as newly republished in the year 1819.

‡ In support of this occurrence *Burk (ibid.,)* cites "*Stith's Virg.*" It may be remarked, that neither this nor the foregoing incident is at all noticed in *Smith's Hist. of Virg.* the most authentic work of any of the early histories of Virginia. It is probable, that *Stith*, in his *Hist. of Virg.* (here cited by *Burk*,) has collected them from some other source. It may be here further remarked also, that the first chapter of the third book of *Smith's General History of Virginia*, is stated to have been drawn up or "extracted" from some account thereof written "by *William Simons*, Doctor of Divinitie:"—whose name does not appear in the list of the first adventurers in this voyage. The name of *Richard Simons* appears in that list as one of the "gentlemen planters." He might have been a near relative to Doct. *William Simons*, and from him the doctor might have had the substance of the narrative which he drew up, from which *Smith* appears to have borrowed his narration of their first arrival and settlement. It will be recollected, that *Smith* was at this time, during their arrival within the capes of Chesapeake, and until their landing at James town, under an arrest, if not under close confinement. He could not, therefore, have been personally privy, (although on board of capt. *Newport's* ship,) to all the minute incidents attending their first arrival within the capes, and probably kept no journal of the voyage.

SEC. VI. ed on the 13th of May, and called the place James-town, which
1607. name it has ever since retained. Agreeably to their instructions they now proceeded to organize their government by swearing the several members of the council, and choosing their president. They excluded Smith from the council, and a declaration was entered on their minutes, setting down at large their reasons for so doing. He was released from his confinement, but it was with some difficulty that he could obtain a trial in the colony, his accusers proposing that he should be sent to England for that purpose. After a fair hearing, however, he was honourably acquitted of the charges against him, and took his seat in the council.

As a minute detail of the proceedings of these colonists, and the events which attended them, more properly appertains to a history of Virginia, of which there are several, we shall for the future confine ourselves only to those incidents thereof which have some immediate relation to that of Maryland.

SECTION VII.

The distresses of the first Virginia colony, and the services of captain Smith—His first attempt to explore the bay of Chesapeake—His second attempt more successful—A general sketch of the tribes of Indians then inhabiting Virginia and Maryland—Smith becomes president of Virginia, and the tenor of some instructions from England to Virginia—An attempt of the Plymouth company to settle a colony in Maine—The second charter of Virginia, and the causes of granting it—The settlement of the Dutch at New York—English attempt to settle Newfoundland—the third charter of Virginia—Captain Argall's expedition to break the up French and Dutch settlements at Nova Scotia and New York.

During the remaining part of the year 1607, after the arrival and settlement of this first Virginia colony at James-town, it appears to have struggled with much difficulty for existence. The provisions which were left for their sustenance by Newport, who sailed with his ships for England, some time in June this year, were not only scanty, but bad in their quality, having received damage in the holds of their ships during the voyage. Hence the colonists became subject to diseases, arising as well from the unhealthiness of the climate, as from a scarcity bordering on famine. This contributed much to a diminution of their numbers. They were harassed also with repeated attacks by the natives, who were far from being content with the visit of these strangers, when they found out that it would probably be permanent. Added to those difficulties, the conduct of their president Wingfield, and his successor Ratcliffe, was to excite considerable disturbance and dissatisfaction. Disregarding the distresses of the colony, those presidents had not only consumed the stores of provisions, in the indulgence of their own luxury, but had planned schemes for deserting the country and escaping to England. Smith, whose active and vigorous mind had been constantly employed during these distresses, both in protecting the colony from the hostile attacks of the savages, and in procuring from the natives corn and other provisions, was obviously the only member of the council in whom the colonists could, with any confidence, repose the administration of their affairs. Pursuing with ardour, his endeavours to procure supplies, as well as to explore the country, he was unfortunately captured by the Indians; but after undergoing an interesting series of adventures,

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with them for seven weeks, his life was almost miraculously saved, through the amiable interposition of the princess Pocahontas, a favourite daughter of the emperor Powhatan. Restored to the colony again, his influence became doubly necessary. Wearied with their hardships and distresses, a great portion of the colony had determined to abandon the country. He arrived just in time to prevent the execution of their design. By persuasion he obtained a majority for continuing; and by force he compelled the minority to submit. He now experienced also, some benefit from his captivity; for it acquired him considerable repute among the Indians, and enabled him to preserve the colony in plenty of provisions until the arrival of two vessels, which had been dispatched from England under the command of captain Newport, with a supply of provisions, of instruments of husbandry, and with a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty persons.

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His first attempt to explore the bay of Chesapeake.

The seasonable accession of force and provisions, although it brought joy to the colonists, yet had the inconvenience of inducing them again to a relaxation of discipline, and to a neglect of the advice and direction of Smith, who zealously opposed their idle pursuit of wealth, in loading the ships destined to return in the spring, with an imaginary golden ore, instead of preparing for their future subsistence. Perceiving this, he bent his attention to more important pursuits. Well knowing that this fatal delusion would end in a scarcity of food, which had indeed already begun to be felt, he proposed as they had not hitherto extended their researches beyond the countries contiguous to James' river, to open an intercourse with the more remote tribes, and to explore the shores of that vast reservoir of waters—the bay of Chesapeake. The execution of this arduous design, he undertook himself, accompanied by doctor Russell, in an open boat of about three tons burthen, and with a crew of thirteen men. As this excursion appears to have been the very first exploration of the Chesapeake, that had been as yet ever attempted by any European, it becomes as interesting a part of the history of Maryland as that of Virginia. No other authentic account of this little voyage having ever been given but by *Smith* himself, in his General History of Virginia, that account thereof has been the only source of information, to which all the historians of Virginia could with propriety resort in framing a narration of that part of their history, which has any relation to

it. But in their abridgments and summary accounts of it, they SEC. VII.
 have omitted so many material incidents, mentioned in the ori- 1608.
 ginal narration, that those accounts are, for the most part, obscure
 and unintelligible. It is, therefore, here supposed, that a full and
 complete extract from the above mentioned General History of
 Virginia, in the original style of its language, of all such parts
 of this voyage, as have immediate relation to those parts of Ma-
 ryland now first discovered, will be more satisfactory to the read-
 er than garbled and imperfect quotations from the same.

“CHAPTER V.” (*of Smith's General History of Virginia.*)

*The accidents that hapned in the discovery of the bay of Chisa-
 peack.”*

“The second of June, 1608, *Smith* left the fort* to performe his
 discovery with this company:

“Walter Russell, <i>doctor of physicke</i> ,	}	<i>Gentlemen.”</i>
Ralfe Morton,		
Thomas Momford,		
William Cantrill,		
Richard Fetherstone,		
James Burne,		
Michell Sicklemore,		

“Jonas Profit,	}	<i>Souldiers.”</i>
Anas Todkill,		
Robert Small,		
James Watkins,		
John Powell,		
James Read,		
Richard Keale,		

“These being in an open barge neare three tons burthen,
 leaving the Phœnix† at Cape *Henry*, they crossed the bay to

* Meaning the palisadoed ‘fort’ at James-town.

† This was one of the ships that had brought the “first supply,” as it was
 called, in the year 1607, the year after the original settlement of the first colo-
 nists at James-town. The Virginia Company in England had, in the year 1607,
 dispatched, according to *Smith*, “two good ships with neare a hundred men,
 well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and
 us; the one commanded by captaine *Newport*,—the other by captaine *Francis*
Nelson, an honest man, and an expert mariner. But such was the lewardnesse
 of his ship, (the Phœnix,) that “though he was within the sight of Cape *Henry*,
 by stormy contrary winds was he forced so farre to sea, that the West *Indies*
 was the next land, for the repaire of his masts, and reliefe of wood and water.
 But *Newport* got in and arrived at James-towne, not long after the redemption of

SEC. VII. the eastern shore, and fell with the isles called *Smith's isles*,
 1608. after our captain's name.* The first people we saw were two
 grim and stout salvages upon Cape *Charles*; with long poles
 like jaelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what
 we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances
 they seemed very kinde, and directed us to *Accomack*,† the
 habitation of their *Werowance*,‡ where we were kindly intreated.
 This king was the comeliest, proper, civill salvage we incoun-
 tered. His country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle, some small
 creekes; good harbours for small barks, but not for ships. They

captaine *Smith*." The exact date of *Smith's* return from his captivity on the
 Chickahominy does not appear, even from his own history; but, from a circum-
 stance stated as having occurred on the same day of his return, or within a day
 or two after it, when "the boughs of the trees were loaded with isickles,"
 we must suppose it to have been in either January or February of 1607-8.
Newport might, therefore, have arrived in March, and captain *Nelson* in the
Phoenix in April following. "The fraught of this ship (the *Phoenix*,) being
 concluded to be cedar, by the diligence of the master and captaine *Smith*, she was
 quickly reladed." This agrees with her departure on the second of June, 1608.
 See *Smith's Hist. Virg.* vol. 1, ch. 2, 3, 4, 5, of the "Third Booke."

* The island, still called *Smith's* island, situated about two miles to the south
 east of Cape *Charles*, and which is about twelve miles long and about two miles
 broad, must have been the principal island here alluded to.

† It is evident from *Smith's* map, inserted in his book, that this place, above
 alluded to, denominated by him in his said map, *Accowmack*, was situated within
 the interior part of Cape *Charles*, and on or near to the place called *Cherryton*,
 in *Northampton* county. These *Accomack* Indians are stated by *Smith*, (in an-
 other part of his History, vol. 1, p. 120, ed. of 1819,) to have been able to turn
 out "80 men," or warriors, and spoke the language of *Powhatan*, who ruled over
 them as king, as he did also over some other tribes or nations of Indians, whose
 residence was on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and who will be hereafter men-
 tioned. But this rule or dominion over them by *Powhatan*, though expressly so
 stated by *Smith*, must obviously have been more in the nature of an *alliance* than
 an absolute dominion. The breadth of the Chesapeake, at this part of it, divid-
 ing *Powhatan* from these dominions, if they were his, must have rendered his
 power over them very feeble, and at most but ephemeral, especially when we
 reflect upon the difficulty of navigating such a water with Indian canoes. This
 receives some confirmation by the following remark in *Smith's Hist. of Virg.*
 (vol. 2, p. 64,)—"There may be on this shore, (meaning the Eastern Shore of
 Virginia,) about two thousand people. They on the *west* would invade them,
 but that they want boats to crosse the bay." It is possible, however, that *Pow-*
hatan might, at some time before, have made a conquest of them. He did not
 gain them by inheritance, if it be true, as is said, that the countries inherited by
 him from his ancestors, lay only about James-river and Pamaunkee, as stated
 by *Smith* in his Hist. vol. 1, p. 142.

‡ *Smith* has thus explained this term—"This word, *Werowance*, which we
 call and construe for a king, is a common word, whereby they call all command-
 ers; for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to
 use any officers more than one commander, which commonly they call *Wero-*
wance or *Caucoronse*, which is captaine."—*Smith's Hist.* vol. 1, p. 143.

spake the language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, isles, and rivers, that often did us exceeding pleasure. Passing along the coast, searching every inlet and bay, fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many isles in the midst of the bay we bore up for them, but ere we could obtaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, rayne, thunder, and lightening happened, that with great danger we escaped the unmerciful raging of that ocean-like water. The highest land on the mayne, yet it was but low, we called *Keale's* hill,* and these uninhabited isles, *Russell's* isles.† The next day, searching them for fresh water, we could find none; the defect whereof forced us to follow the next eastern channel, which brought us to the river of *Wighcocomico*.‡ The people at first with great fury

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* From *Smith's* location of this "hill" on his map, it must have been some high land or rising ground on the bay-coast of *Northampton* county; perhaps some where about *Onancock*. He appears throughout his exploration of the Chesapeake to have appropriated names to several places in compliment to individuals of his crew; probably from some incidental circumstances attending their discoveries, not mentioned in the narration of his voyage. *Richard Keale*, one of his "souldiers," might possibly have first observed or discovered this "hill," and *Smith* called it after him.

† These isles, which *Smith* called *Russell's* isles, (probably in compliment to his friend and present companion, *Doct. Russell*,) were the lowest cluster within the bay. It is a very extraordinary circumstance, however, that in the latest and best maps of Maryland and Virginia a disagreement occurs in the denomination given to these lowest islands. In *Griffith's* map of Maryland, published in 1794, they are called *Tangier* islands; but in that of Virginia, published by *Bishop Madison* in 1807, these same islands are denominated *Watt's* islands. The latter denomination we may suppose to be the most correct.

‡ The uncertainty of the location of this river, here called by *Smith* *Wighcocomico*, but, in his map, the *Wighco*, (a name, which he most probably had from the natives,) was subsequently in a great part the occasion of much contest and litigation, not only in the first place between Virginia and Maryland, soon after the first colonization of the latter, but also between the proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania—*Lord Baltimore* and *William Penn*, when the latter came into possession of the three lower counties on the Delaware, now the Delaware state. Supposing the allegation to be well founded, as it appears to be, which was made in the bill in chancery filed by the Penns, and drawn by the celebrated *Lord Mansfield*, when acting as counsel for them, in the year 1735, against *Lord Baltimore*, for a specific performance of the agreement before that time made between the said Penns and *Lord Baltimore*, relative to the bounds of their two provinces, and in which it was alleged, that "the tracts of land granted to *Lord Baltimore*, and described in his charter, were so described and bounded by the half of *Captain Smith's* History and map of what was then called Virginia, and no other, and so all skilfull persons do own, acknowledge and believe, which manifestly appears, for that the said map has all and every of the names of the several places which are contained and mentioned in the said letters patent, and no other map or maps whatsoever, which was extant in the year 1632, and at the time of granting the said letters patent, (save only the said

SEC. VII. seemed to assault us, yet at last with songs and dances and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three barricoes,* and that such puddle, that never till then we ever knew the want of good water. We digged and searched in many places, but before two daies were expired, we would have refused two barricoes of gold

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Smith's map of Virginia,) hath or have the names and descriptions of the several places mentioned in the said letters patent,"—it followed that the division line between the two provinces, Maryland and Virginia, described in Lord Baltimore's charter for Maryland, to be "a right line drawn from the promontory or head land, called *Watkin's* point, situate upon the bay of Chesapeake, near the river *Wighco*, on the west, unto the main ocean on the east,"—must have in a great measure depended on a precise ascertainment of the river *Wighco*, as well as *Watkyn's* point. But, although Smith's map is wonderfully correct, considering the time and circumstances under which it was made, yet it is certain, that, by comparing it with the latest and best maps of the Chesapeake, particularly Griffith's map of Maryland, we may perceive many material errors, especially in those parts of it contiguous and adjacent to *Watkin's* point. It is evident from Smith's map, and more particularly from his location therein of *Watkin's* point, that what he has laid down in his map as the river *Wighco*, was what is now called the *Pocomoke*, and that the true river *Wighco* was, even at the time of this his first exploration of the Chesapeake, the same as that now called the *Wicomoco*. This mistake of his may be reconciled, by reflecting on the unfavourable circumstances which attended this part of his voyage,—the want of water, the violent gusts of wind, which he describes, and the misinformation, or his misunderstanding of what information he derived from the Indians. Tradition also seems to confirm the supposition, that the river laid down in Smith's map as the *Wighco* was what is now called the *Pocomoke*. In the map, annexed to the articles of agreement entered into between Charles, Lord Baltimore, and the Penns, on the 10th of May, 1732, (referred to in the before-mentioned bill in chancery, a copy of which is now before me,) the name *Wighco* is affixed to the *Pocomoke*. Lord Baltimore, in this agreement, must have grounded himself on the evidence of maps or charts long before made, and particularly on certain maps mentioned in certain instructions sent by his great grand-father, Lord *Cecilius*, to his governor of Maryland, in the year 1651, when the dispute between Virginia and Maryland relative to their respective bounds on the Eastern Shore appears to have first commenced, but which maps do not appear to be now in existence, at least among the records of Maryland. *Watkin's* point, then, seems to have been a spot on *Smith's* map correctly handed down to posterity as being the same "promontory or head-land," (to wit, the south-western extremity on the Chesapeake of what is now called Somerset county) as was intended and meant both by *Smith*, in his map made in the year 1629, and by Lord *Cecilius*, (or Lord George his father,) in the draught of his charter for Maryland, in the year 1632. This given point being assumed as a datum, it evidently results from an inspection of *Smith's* map, that what he designated as the *Wighco*, (on which he has denoted an *Indian Wighcocomoco*,) was really and truly the *Pocomoke*, and that the real *Wighco* river, of which he, without doubt, received information on this excursion, lay further north, and emptied itself into the bay above *Watkyn's* Point.

*The word "barricoes" here used, I take to be a corruption of the French word *barriques*, which signifies a hogshhead or barrel.

for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*. Being past these isles, which are many in number, but all naught for habitation, falling with a high land upon the mayne, found a great pond of fresh water, but so exceedingly hot, wee supposed it some bath; that place we called poynt *Ployer*, in honour of that most honourable house of *Monsay* in *Britaine*, that in an extreame extremitie once relieved our captaine.* From *Wighcocomico* to this place, all the coast is low broken isles of morass, growne a myle or two in breadth, and ten or twelve in length, good to cut for hay in summer, and to catch fish and foule in winter; but the land beyond them is all covered with wood, as is the rest of the country."

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"Being thus refreshed in crossing over from the maine to other isles, we discovered the wind and waters so much increased with thunder, lightning and raine, that our mast and sayle blew overboard, and such mighty waves overracked us in that small barge, that with great labour we kept her from sinking, by freeing out the water. Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these uninhabited isles, which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called *Limbo*.† Repairing our saile

* This alludes to an incident in the extraordinary adventures of *Smith*, which occurred to him in France. He had, by a most knavish imposition, been robbed in France of all his money and clothes. Wandering thus in great distress in Brittany, he was there most fortunately relieved by an "earle of *Ployer*," a French nobleman, who, during the then late civil wars in France, had, together with his two younger brothers, been sent to England and had there received their education. This circumstance most probably inspiring them with a particular partiality for an Englishman, they with great generosity and kindness entertained and befriended *Smith* in his "extreame extremitie," as he calls it.

But considerable difficulty arises in ascertaining with certainty, at this day, where this point *Ployer* was; as *Smith* has omitted to lay it down by that name in his map, I cannot but think it to have been the same point of land, which, when he subsequently formed his map, he denominated *Watkyn's po'nt*, most probably after *James Watkins*, one of his "souldiers" in the list of his crew, as first herein stated, and who was the first discoverer, as he afterwards states. It could not have been *Reade's* point, which he has laid down as forming the headland on the northern side of the mouth of the river *Pocomoke*, called by him the *Wighco*; for, the beginning of his next sentence,—“from *Wighcocomoco* to this place,” &c., that is, from the river *Wighco* to point *Ployer*, excludes *Reade's* point, the preposition *from* being exclusive; and he has designated no other place of note between *Reade's* and *Watkins's* points, but has characterised the face of the country along the south shore of Somerset county bordering on *Pocomoke* bay, as it now appears,—“isles of morass,” or marsh, of many miles in length, from the mouth of the *Pocomoke* to *Watkins's* point.

† The word *Limbus*, (or, in the ablative case, *in Limbo*,) was originally a term in the Romish theology, used for that place where the patriarchs are supposed to have waited for the redemption of mankind, and where they imagine

SEC. VII. with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty
 1608. convenient river on the East called *Cuskarawaock*,* the people ran

our Saviour continued from the time of his death to that of his resurrection. *Du Cange* says, the fathers called this place *limbus*, *eo quod sit limbus inferorum*, as being the margin or frontier of the infernal regions or other world; and, in this sense, it seems to have been used in Shakspeare's "All's well that ends well;" (act v.)—"Indeed, he was mad for her, and talk'd of Satan, and of *limbo*, and of furies, and I know not what." But it was also used to signify any place of misery and restraint, and in this sense it is more than once used by *Butler* in his *Hudibras*.

"This 'tis t'engage with dogs and bears,
 Pell-mell together by the ears,
 And after painful bangs and knocks,
 To lie in *limbo*, in the stocks;
 And, from the pinnacle of glory,
 Fall headlong into purgatory."

The confinement for "two dayes," which *Smith* and his companions experienced in these islands, on account of the gusts and wind, induced him to give them the name of *Limbo*.

*In a "History of Maryland" stated to be "By a gentleman of Baltimore," the commencement, or a small part of which was published in the year 1818, in a periodical work, entitled "Journal of the Times," it is stated, that the *Ruskarawaock* "tribe" of Indians, "dwelt upon a river of the same name, and which is probably now called *Chester*, on the Eastern Shore."—Although the word *Ruskarawaock*, as here written, varies in a letter from the mode in which it is spelt in *Smith's* History, viz: *Kuskarawaock* and *Cuskarawaock*, in one place with a K, and in another with a C, yet we may suppose, that as the writer professes to follow *Smith's* History only, in his account of the Virginia and Maryland Indians, this variance from him in the mode of spelling the name might have been either an accidental or typographical error. But, it is somewhat surprising, that the author of this anonymous history professing to follow *Smith* solely, and consequently having *Smith's* map of the country before him, should suppose that the *Cuskarawaock* river was the same as that now called the *Chester*. On this map *Smith* has laid down the *Cuskarawaock* river as emptying into the Chesapeake opposite to the isles or isle which he called *Limbo*, where he had been detained by a gust or storm, prior to his crossing the bay to *Riccard's* cliffs, evidently the highlands on the Western Shore just above the Patuxent. The *Cuskarawaock* could never then be what is now called the *Chester* river, which empties into the Chesapeake nearly opposite to the Patapsco, which, as we shall presently see is the *Bolus* river of *Smith*. From this, and various other circumstances, which will hereinafter appear, there can be no doubt, that the *Cuskarawaock* of *Smith* was the present *Nanticoke* river on the Eastern Shore. Without this supposition it would be impossible to reconcile *Smith's* designation of the town or residence of the *Nantiquaks*, a tribe of Indians, whom he has located on the right bank or north side of that river, at a place, answering as nearly as may be to the still well known scite of the large and numerous tribe subsequently known by the name of the *Nanticokes*, the last remnant of whom did not migrate therefrom until about the year 1768. It is observable also, that *Smith* has designated in his map the town of the *Kuskarawaocks* near the head of the river so called by him. The scite or location of this town on *Smith's* map very nearly conforms to the location of the lands on Broad Creek emptying into the *Nanticoke*, near the head thereof, laid out under an act of Assembly of this Province, passed in the year 1711, en-

as amazed in troupes from place to place, and divers got into the tops of trees, they were not sparing of their arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an anchor without their reatch making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came unarmed, with every one a basket, dancing in a ring to draw us on shore, but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shott, whereat they all lay tumbling on the ground, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by, where thare companies lay in ambuscade. Towards the evening we wayed, and approaching the shoare, discharging five or six shot among the reedes, we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the river, we rowed thither, there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking-glasses, and then went into the bay, but when it was darke we came back againe. Early in the morning foure salvages came to us in their canoes, whom we used with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, having beene in the bay a fishing, bade us stay and ere long they would returne, which they did and some twentie more with them; with whom, after a little conference, two or three thousand men, women and children, came clustering about us, every one presenting us with something, which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch us water, stay with us for host-age, conduct our men any whither, and give us the best content.

titled, "An act to impower commissioners to appoint and cause to be laid out three thousand acres of land on *Broad-creek*, in *Somerset* county, for the use of the *Nanticoke* Indians." *Broad-creek* was then supposed to have been in Maryland; but after the ascertainment of the division line between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, it fell into what is now the Delaware state. By this act of Assembly it appears, that certain Indians, called in the said act "the *Nanticokes*," were then, prior to the said act, settled on *Broad-creek* in *Nanticoke* river. But, as it appears from the act of 1723, ch. 18, entitled, "An act for quieting the possessions of the Indians inhabiting on *Nanticoke* and *Choptank* rivers," that the *Nanticoke* Indians still (in 1723) occupied, and had not altogether removed from their ancient scite on the *Nanticoke*, as located by Smith, which was by this act of Assembly confirmed to them, it may be fairly inferred, that the Indian town called *Kuskarawaock*, was situated on *Broad-creek*, that the lands on *Broad-creek* appropriated to the Indians there by the act of 1711, were at or near this ancient seat of the *Kuskarawaocks*, and that the Indians there settled on *Broad-creek*, though called the *Nanticokes* in the act, were yet really and truly a remnant of the *Kuskarawaocks* of Smith's History.

SEC. VII. Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh*, *Nause*, *Aroeck*,*
 1608. and *Nantaquak*, the best marchants of all other salvages. They
 much extolled a great nation called *Massanomekes*,† in search of

*Smith has not designated on his map the habitations or towns of either the *Sarapinagh* or *Aroeck*. That of the *Nause* he has located on the north side of the *Cuskarawaoek* river near the mouth thereof. The *Nantiquaks* and *Cuskara-waoeks* as before stated.

†The scite, or place of residence, which Smith has given in his map to these *Nantaquaks* on the *Cuskarawaoek* river, corresponding as near as may be with the still well known ancient scite of the *Nanticoke* Indians, in Dorchester County, Maryland, and on the right bank or north side of what is now called the *Nanticoke* river, seems to establish the fact beyond a doubt, that these *Nantaquaks* and the late well known *Nanticokes* were one and the same tribe or nation of Indians. Mr. Charles Thompson in his annotations annexed to Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, has said, that "a nation, now known by the name of *Nanticocks*, *Conoys*, and *Tuteloos*, and who lived between *Chesapeake* and *Delaware bays*, and bordering on the tribe of *Chihohocki*, entered into an alliance with the Five Nations, called by themselves *Mingoes*, by the French writers *Iroquoise*, and by the Indians to the southward, with whom they were at war, *Massawomacs*." In another passage he states that "the *Nanticocks* and *Conoies* were formerly of a nation that lived at the head of *Chesapeake* bay, and who, of late years, have been adopted into the *Mingo* or *Iroquois* confederacy." It is to be regretted, that Mr. Thompson, as is too often the usage of American historians, has omitted to cite his authority for these statements. That the *Nanticocks* mentioned by him, and the *Nanticokes* on the *Nanticoke* river, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, were one and the same tribe or nation, seems to be established by the fact stated, of their "being adopted into the *Mingo* or *Iroquois* confederacy," a circumstance recognized by the Provincial records of Maryland, as to the *Nanticokes* last mentioned. But, that these last mentioned *Nanticokes* formerly lived at the head of *Chesapeake* bay and between that bay and the *Delaware*, bordering on the tribe of *Chihohocki*, seems doubtful. Europeans, at the time of their first settlement in this country, not understanding the languages of the Indians with whom they conversed, which could be usually done only by signs, were too frequently liable to mistakes and misapprehensions of what the Indians informed them. The opinion, that the *Nanticokes* ever lived at the head of the *Chesapeake* bay, has most probably resulted from some such mistake. When *Smith* visited them in this "first voyage" of his up the *Chesapeake*, in the year 1608, they are represented as a tribe or nation permanently fixed on the *Cuskarawaoek*, supposed by us to be the *Nanticocks*, and as being among "the best merchants of all other salvages." This mercantile disposition seems to indicate that they were not then new-comers, just settled on the *Nanticoke*. It is true, they are said by him, to have "much extolled a great nation called *Massawomaks*," but this does not necessarily imply that they were then in alliance with them. They might more probably have extolled them from fear than friendship, as Indians are said to have worshipped the devil. It appears that these *Massawomaks* had spread terror among even the *Powhatans* of Virginia. The *Kecoughtans*, at Hampton in Virginia, expressed to *Smith* their apprehensions of danger from them. The *Chihohocki*'s 'are laid down by *Smith* on his map as seated on what he supposed to be the Atlantic Ocean, but evidently on the *Delaware* river, and on that part of it which subtends or is opposite to the *Elk* river on the *Chesapeake* side of the peninsula, most probably some where on the *Delaware*, between the *Assoquinimy* and *Christina* creeks. The *Nanticokes*, therefore, could not well be said to have lived at the head of

whom we returned by *Limbo*; "this river but onely at the entrance is very narrow, and the people of small stature as them of *Wighcomoco*, the land but low, yet it may prove very commodi-

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the bay, "bordering on the Chihohocki," for any short time previous to Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake in the year 1608.

As to the Massawomecks being the same nation of Indians as those called by the English the Five Nations, and by the French the Iroquois, although this supposition be highly probable, yet there does not appear to be any positive undeniable evidence of it. Mr. Jefferson, in the text, to which Mr. Thompson has annexed his note, seems to state the fact with some hesitation. "Westward," he says, "of all these tribes," (meaning those of the Powhatans, the Monacans, and Manahoacs,) "beyond the mountains, and extending to the great lakes, were the *Massawomecks*, a most powerful confederacy, who harrassed unremittingly the Powhatans and Monahoacs. These were *probably the anccestors* of the tribes known at present by the name of the Six Nations." It may be here remarked, that Smith, in his map of the Chesapeake or Virginia, has located the *Massawomecks* on what he supposed to be the ocean or a great lake, situated in a direct west course from the head of the Chesapeake, and in the direction from the head of that bay towards Allegany county, or the most western parts of Maryland; which probably induced Mr. Jefferson to fix the scite of the Massawomecks westward of the then habitable parts of Virginia and beyond the Allegany mountains. But in speaking of the Massawomecks, as they existed at the time of Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake, there is certainly some inaccuracy in supposing them to have been then "the ancestors of the Six Nations." They must have been the Five Nations themselves, (if their identity with the Massawomecks be assumed) then in the year 1608, well known by the French under the denomination of the Iroquois, as inhabiting the country round about those small northern lakes in the present State of New York, which are in the neighbourhood of the greater lakes of Ontario and Erie. The Monacans, afterwards called Tuscaroras, subsequently joining these Five Nations, made a sixth. If such was their home and place of residence in the year 1608, Smith was mistaken in his location of them, and Mr. Jefferson consequently so in following him. They did afterwards, when the Dutch of New York had furnished them with fire-arms, extend their conquests on the western side of the Allegany mountains, as Colden (their historian) says, as far south as Carolina. Heckewelder's idea, or traditional story from the Indians, that all the Indians, on the Atlantic coast of the northern and middle States of the Union, originally sprung from the two nations—the Lenni Lenape, commonly called Delawares, and the Iroquois or Five Nations, both of whom migrated into the country on this side of the Allegany mountains from parts beyond the Mississippi, seems to be founded on some misunderstood tradition or idle Indian story. It savours something of the priesthood in endeavouring to bolster up the improbable supposition, that all mankind sprung from one common parentage, and that the Indians of America originally crossed Cook's narrow straits between Asia and this continent. It is, moreover, entirely repugnant to the accounts of these Iroquois, as handed down to us by *Champlain* and others, who first founded Quebec and settled in their neighbourhood, in the year 1608, and about the same time of that year, in which *Smith* was exploring the Chesapeake, where he met with the Massawomecks. Supposing the Iroquois and the Massawomecks to be the same people, the first scite or place of their residence according to historians, (see *Colden's Hist. of the Five Nations*, p. 23) was at the place now called Montreal in Canada; but this was many years prior to the arrival of *Champlain* at Quebec, or of *Smith's* ex-

ous, because it is but a ridge of land betwixt the bay and the maine ocean. Finding this eastern shore, shallow broken isles, and for most part without fresh water, we passed by the straites of *Limbo* for the western shore; so broad is the bay here, we could scarce perceive the great high cliffs on the other side: by them we anchored that night and called them *Riccards Cliftes*.* 30 leagues we sayled more northwarde not finding any inhabit-

ploration of the Chesapeake, in the year 1608. Quarrelling with the Hurons and the Algonquins, (the latter of whom were called by the English Adirondacs,) who lived on the north of the St. Lawrence both in Upper and Lower Canada, and to whom the Iroquois were tributary, these Iroquois were driven by these other nations just mentioned, to the banks of the small lakes in the northern parts of the State of New York, where they were when Champlain arrived with his colony at Quebec, in 1608, and where also they must have lived, when Smith in this his voyage up the Chesapeake, met with a party of them at the head of that bay, carrying on a war with the Susquehanocks and the Tockwoghs. *Smith* states, that these Massawomecks, in their retreat from their encounter with him at the head of the bay, went up the river, which he called *Willoughby's* river, and which appears to be the same as that now called *Bush* river, in Harford county. This favours the supposition, that in their retreat they would naturally pursue the nearest or most convenient route to their own country, this small river pointing in that direction; from the head of which they might traverse the inland country across the present state of Pennsylvania, to that of New York, where they resided, without interfering with the great body of the Susquehanocks, who were then seated on the Susquehanah above its lowest falls. Thus, supposing these Massawomecks to have been a party of the Iroquois, it is probable, that they had now, in 1608, descended from their own country through the back parts of Pennsylvania, and had entered the Chesapeake at *Bush* river with a view of taking the Tockwogs and the Susquehanocks in the rear, as Mr. Thompson has alleged, or of extending their depredations on other Indians along the coasts of the Chesapeake.

* This seems to afford additional confirmation, that the river, called by *Smith* the *Cuskarawaoch* was the *Nanticoke*. From an inspection of his map, and a consideration of all the circumstances mentioned by him in this stage of his voyage, "the straites of *Limbo*," through which he now passed from the eastern to the western shore, would appear to have been those now called *Hooper's* straits. He might, indeed, have passed up what is called *Hungary* or *Hunger* river, in Dorchester county, and through the narrow straits between *Hooper's* and *Barren* islands and the main land of the Eastern Shore, (his vessel being a mere flat and drawing but little water) from whence he would have emerged into the bay nearly opposite to the "high cliffs on the other side."—But, as this navigation, especially between *Barren* island and the main land, would have been too intricate and winding for him, it is most probable, that he passed through *Hooper's* straits, as expressed by him—"the straites of *Limbo*." Had he entered the bay through any other passage between those islands, which he denominated *Limbo*, lower down than *Hooper's* straits, he could not have seen the "high cliffs" above the *Patuxent* across the bay, nor could he easily have performed his passage across the bay to those cliffs in one day, as he appears to have done, from what he states, (the distance being from *Watkins's* Point to those cliffs nearly fifty miles) especially in such a dull sailing vessel as his flat must have been, with ragged sails patched up out of their shirts, as he says they were.

ants, leaving all the eastern shore, lowe islandes, but ouergrowne with wood, as all the coast beyond them so farre as we could see;* the western shore by which we sayled we found all along

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* *Smith's* omission to explore the Eastern Shore of Maryland, at least the midland parts of it between the Nanticoke and Sassafras rivers, has deprived us of some interesting information relative to that part of the country now composing the counties of Talbot, Queen Ann's, and Kent, together with the several islands facing the bay-coast thereof, since known by the appellations of Sharpe's Tilghman's, Poplar, and Kent islands. There were some rivers also therein, which would have well deserved his attention; particularly the *Choptank*, a name of *Indian* origin, without doubt, on which resided an Indian nation, subsequently called the *Choptanks*, who are no where noticed by him. These *Choptanks* appear (from an act of assembly of 1741, ch. 12,) to have consisted of three distinct tribes, called the *Ababeves*, the *Hutsavaps*, and *Tequassimoes*. Whether they resided altogether at one place, at the time of *Smith's* exploration of the Chesapeake, is not certain. They were found to be subsequently united in the year 1669, when an act of assembly of that date was made to appropriate to them a certain quantity of land for their exclusive use, on the south side of the *Choptank*, near Secretary's creek, in Dorchester county. The scite of their town, or principal place of their residence, at the time of *Smith's* voyage, was most probably at the same place, where their permanent residence and lands were confirmed to them by the last mentioned act of assembly. As Indian tribes or nations in America, since the settlement of Europeans among them, seem gradually to waste away and diminish in numbers in somewhat of a regular progressive ratio, without any apparent or obvious cause, the duration of the existence of any tribe seems to give a *datum*, from whence their original numbers and strength, as they were at the time of their first molestation by Europeans, may be inferred. If so, the *Choptanks* must have been remarkable for their numbers, and consequently for their proportionate strength. There are said to be at this day two or three individuals of them yet remaining, but intermixed with negro blood. These live on some spots of lands appropriated to them by an act of assembly of the year 1798, out of their appropriation in the year 1699. It is due to the memory of this tribe or nation, now extinct, or nearly so, to state the cause of this first confirmation of their lands to them in 1669. The act is entitled "An act for the continuation of peace with, and protection of, our neightbours and confederates, Indians on Choptank river;"—and, as is therein stated, "on account of their fidelity, in delivering some murderers, &c." all the land, described in the said act, (about three miles square) is thereby settled upon them and their heirs forever, to be held of his lordship under the yearly rent of six beaver skins." It may be proper here to observe, that no settlements of Europeans were made on any part of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, until after the year 1660, except on the isle of Kent, where settlements are said to have been made even before lord Baltimore obtained his charter. This seems to afford some ground to infer, that these lands thus settled in 1669, upon the *Choptank* Indians, comprised the scite of their place of residence in 1608, when *Smith* made his discoveries in the Chesapeake. It may be here further remarked also, that the part of the Eastern Shore, of which the counties of Queen Ann's and Talbot are now composed, is denominated on *Smith's* map, *Brooke's* forest, "overgrown with wood," as he says, and that the three islands, therein imperfectly sketched by him, as lying opposite thereto, called by him "*Winstone's* isles," must have been the isle of Kent, Poplar, and Tilghman's islands, but most inaccurately designed.

SEC. VII. well watered, but very mountainous and barren, the valleys very
 1608. fertile, but extreame thicke of small wood as well as trees, and much frequented with wolves, beares, deere, and other wild beasts. Wee passed many shallow creekes, but the first we found navigable for a ship, we called *Bolus*,* for that the clay in many places under the clifts by the high water marke, did grow up in red and white knots as gum out of trees; and in some places so participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the colour, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy grauell, which made vs thinke it *bole-armoniack* and *terra sigillata*.† When we first set sayle some of our gallants doubted nothing but that our captaine would make too much haste home, but having lien in this small barge not above twelve or fourteen dayes, oft tyred at the oares, our bread spoyled with wet so much that it was rotten, (yet so good were their stomachs that they could digest it,) they did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner.

“Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable history of Sir Ralph Layne, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discovery of Moratico, alledging that they had yet a dog, that being boiled with sassafras leaues, would richly feed them in their returnes ;‡ then what a shame would it be for you (that have bin

* This has been generally deemed to have been the *Patapsco*, which opinion seems to be warranted by *Smith's* map. But it may be remarked, that if he “sayled 30 leagues northwards from *Riccard's* cliftes,” accounting three miles to the league, his distance ninety miles would have carried him quite to the mouth of the *Susquehanah*. This circumstance, however, seems rather to corroborate the supposition, that what he called *Bolus* river was the *Patapseo*, and not any river lower down on the western shore, as the *Severn* for instance, where is to be found also his *Bole-Armoniack*, or *Terra Sigillata*, from which he took his term—*Bolus*. It may be moreover observed, that the *Severn* river cannot well be said to be “navigable for a ship,” on account of a shoal at the entrance.

† *Bole-Armoniack*, or the *Armenian Bole*, is a species of earth, originally brought from *Armenia*, near the head of the *Euphrates*, and sometimes from the isle of *Lemnos*. It was formerly supposed by chemists and physicians to possess medicinal qualities. It was commonly put up in little flat cakes, round on one side, flat and sealed on the other, and hence called *Terra Sigillata*. It is said to be now disused in modern pharmacy. The chemists or physicians of *Baltimore*, however, might do well in examining its properties. One reason of its disuse in *England* might possibly have been its frequent adulteration by the druggists there, in mixing red ochre, and sometimes brick dust with it, to both which it has a considerable resemblance in colour.

‡ This alludes to governor *Lane's* fruitless expedition up the *Moratice*, now called the *Roanoke*, in *North Carolina*, about the year 1585, as has been herein-before stated.

so suspitious of my tendernesse,) to force me returne, with so much provision as we have, and scarce able to say where we have beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seek? You cannot say but I have shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to myselfe. As for your feares that I will lose myselfe in these unknowne large waters or be swallowed up in some stormie gust, abandon these childish feares, for worse than is past is not likely to happen, and there is as much danger to returne as to proceede. Regain, therefore, your old spirits, for returne I will not (if God please) till I have seene the Massawomeks, found Patawomek, or the head of this water you conceit to be endlesse. Two or three dayes we expected winde and wether, whose aduerse extremities added such discouragement, that three or foure fell sicke, whose pitiful complaints caused vs to returne, leaving the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadome water.*

“The 16th of June we fell with the river *Patawomek*; feare being gone, and our men recovered, we were all content to take some paines, to know the name of that seven mile broad riuier:† for thirtie myles sayle, we could see no inhabitants: then we were conducted by two savages up a little bayed creeke, towards *Onawmanient*,‡ where all the woods were layd with am-

* The place from which they now put back, we may suppose to have been somewhere a little below what is now called *Pool's island*, the bay there nearly corresponding with the breadth above assigned, and then narrowing considerably from that island upwards. This part of the above journal shews, how indistinct and inaccurate, especially in the order of time, most of the historians of Virginia, particularly *Burk*, have been in their accounts of these two voyages up the Chesapeake by *Smith*. The real cause of his return back at this time, before he had explored the head of the Chesapeake, the grand desideratum of his voyage, he himself expressly states to have been, not entirely the want of provisions, but the “complaints” of those of his crew, who were sick.

† As *Smith* invariably spells the name of the river, now universally called and written the *Patowmack*, as above—the *Patawomek*, it seems to follow, that the former term is a corruption of the latter. It appears to have been altered for the sake of the sound, as more agreeable to an English ear. It may be observed, however, that the *Massawomeks* or Six Nations had a different name for it. They called it—the *Cohongoronta*, a name of more sonorous rotundity than either of the others. See the speeches of two chiefs of the nations at the treaty held with them at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, in June, 1744, stated at large in *Colden's Hist. of the Five Nations*, pp. 107, 112. But these chiefs appear to have meant the upper parts of the *Patowmack*, where they had extended their conquests.

‡ No place of this name is laid down on *Smith's* map. If we take the distance of “thirty myles sayle,”—to have been from the mouth of the river, it would bring them to somewhere about *Nominy bay*, on the Virginia side of the river, which possibly might be the “little bayed creeke” alluded to above. This also is where Mr. Jefferson has fixed their scite. It may be remarked, that

SEC. VII. 1608. buscado's to the number of three or foure thousand salvages, so strangely paynted, grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying as so many spirits from hell could not have shewed more terrible. Many bravado's they made, but to appease their fury, our captaine prepared with as seeming a willingnesse as they to incounter them. But the grazing of our bullets upon the water (many being shot on purpose they might see them,) with ecco of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their bowes and arrowes; (and exchanging hostage,) *James Watkins* was sent six myles up the woods to their king's habitation. We were kindly used of those salvages, of whom we understood, they were commanded to betray us, by the direction of *Powhatan*, and he so directed from the discontents at *James-towne*, because our captaine did cause them stay in their country against their wills.*

“The like incounters we found at *Patawomck*,† *Cecocawanee*,‡

when Smith was taken prisoner on the Chickahominy in the year before this, the Indians, before they carried him to Powhatan at Werowacomoco, led him quite across the state to several towns, both on the Rapahanock and on the Patowmack, particularly to the *Onawmanients* on the last mentioned river, to exhibit him in a species of triumph, as we may suppose. He must, therefore, have had some previous knowledge of the Onawmanients.

* This expression—“against their vills,”—seems to be susceptible of a double meaning. It might possibly be construed to mean—against the wills of the *Indians*. But by adverting to the history of Virginia at this period of time, it appears, that there were now “discontents at *James-towne*,” raised by some of the colonists there, who were desirous of quitting the country and returning to England, and had actually planned a scheme for seizing upon a shallop for that purpose, but by *Smith's* influence they had been prevented from so doing, and obliged to “stay in the country against their wills.” The above sentence is also some corroboration if it needed it, that *Powhatan's* authority extended over all these tribes or nations on the *Patowomek* at least on the Virginia side thereof.

† This *Indian* town is said to have been on the spot, where the Virginians subsequently laid out a town, which they called New Marlborough, on a peninsula in Stafford county, Virginia, formed by the Patowmack river and a large creek, called the Patowmack creek. It must have been an Indian town of considerable population, and the tribe or nation numerous, as they either gave their name to their noble river upon which they were seated, or they, as the most considerable tribe on its banks, took their name from the river. At this time, as stated by *Smith* in another place, they were able to turn out two hundred warriors. According to Mr. Jefferson's conjectural proportion of warriors to inhabitants, at this period of time, to wit, as three to ten, the population of the *Patowomeks* must have been at this time about six hundred and sixty-six men, women, and children. But it seems from a late document written (in 1820) by Mr. McKenney, superintendant of Indian trade, that the usual computation at this day is—“one warrior for every ten souls.” This would make the population of the *Patowomeks* to have consisted of two thousand souls.—In Proud's Hist. of Pennsylv. vol. ii. p. 297, they were computed in the year 1759 as affording one warrior in every five inhabitants; which comes nearer to Mr. Jefferson's supposition.

‡ An *Indian* town, of this name, is laid down by *Smith* on his map, very low

and diuers other places : but at *Moyaonees*,* *Nacochtant*,† and *Toags*,‡ the people did their best to content us. Hauing gone so high as we could with the bote, we met diuers salvages in canowes, well loaden with the flesh of beares, deere and other beasts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty rocks, growing in some places above the ground as high as the shrubby tree, and diuers other solid quarries of diuers tinctures : and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tintured spangled shurfe, that made many bare places seeme as guilded. Digging the growne above in the highest cliffs of rocks, we saw it was a claie sand so mingled with yellow spangles as if it had beene half pin-dust.§ In our returne inquiring still for this *Matchqueon*,|| the king of *Patawomeke* gaue vs guides to conduct us up a little river called

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down the river, not far from its mouth, and on the Virginia side. The scite of it seems to answer, as nearly as may be, to the south-east point at the mouth of the *Coan* river, in Northumberland county, Virginia. The word *Coan* seems to be an abridgment of *Cecocawanee*. It is there fixed also by Mr. Jefferson.

* From the location of the *Moyaonees* on Smith's map, their town, noted as the residence of a king, must have been somewhere about Broad-creek, in Prince George's county, on the Maryland side of the Patowmack, and about two leagues or six miles above the Indian town of the *Tauxenents* ; which last mentioned town, according to Mr. Jefferson was "about General Washington's," in Fairfax county, Virginia.

† *Nacochtant*, as laid down by Smith on his map, appears to have been but a small distance below the mouth of the *Eastern Branch*, at the city of Washington, and on the Maryland side of the Patowmack.

‡ The scite of the *Toags* is not laid down by Smith on his map. They are mentioned, however, in some documents on the Maryland records, (particularly in Lord Baltimore's instructions of August 6th, 1650, hereinafter more particularly stated,) under the denomination of *Doages* ; from which they appear to have been a tribe of Indians inhabiting some where, in Charles county, Maryland, about the great bend of the Patowmack called Maryland Point, or on the point of land in the said county, formed between Mattawoman creek or run and the Patowmack river, commonly called *Indian Point*.

§ It is evident, from the two preceding sentences, and the expression—"Hauing gone so high as we could with the bote,"—that Smith and his party had now ascended the Patowmack to where the city of Washington now stands. Although Smith has professed in his history on several occasions his contempt for the futile anxiety exhibited by the early Virginia colonists for the discovery of a gold mine in the country, yet we here perceive a symptom, (perhaps only with some of his present followers,) of that anxiety excited by the appearance of some "yellow spangles" in the soil. These colonists, under their repeated disappointments in this respect must have had abundant cause to have acknowledged the truth of the apothegm—All is not gold that glitters.

|| The meaning of this term we must confess to be unintelligible to us. From the whole context it appears to have meant a *mine* of *Antimony*, of which they were in search.

SEC. VII. *Quiyough*, up which we rowed so high as we could.* Leaving
 1608. the bote, with six shot, and divers salvages, he marched seven or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to have for their paines, being proud to be so richly adorned. The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like *Antimony*; wherein they digged a great hole with shells and hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of *christal*-like water, where they wash away the drosse and keepe the remainder, which they put in little baggs and sell it all over the country to paint there bodyes, faces, or idolls; which

* This river, here called the *Quiyough*, is evidently from Smith's map, the *Acquia* creek, a little above the before mentioned town of the Patowomecks on the Virginia side of the Patowmack. And here it will be proper to observe upon an error, which the author of the anonymous History of Maryland before mentioned appears in this instance to have fallen into, when he says,—“On the north side of the Eastern Branch, which Smith mistook for the main river, were seated the Tauxenents;” whom he states to have been a tribe of Maryland Indians. The author himself has mistaken the *Quiyough*, as laid down on Smith's map, “for the main river;” which Smith certainly did not intend. The expression of Smith—“a little river called *Quiyough*,”—clearly indicates, that he meant “a little river” distinct from the Patowmack, which he, in several other places, has distinguished by the title of “the great river.” In another part of Smith's History, (to wit, in his summary account of Virginia, herein after more fully stated,) he has expressed himself so as to leave no doubt upon the subject. “Here,” says he, (to wit, at the town of the *Patowomecks*,) “doth the river divide itself into three or four convenient branches. “*The greatest of the least is called Quiyough*, trending north-west, but the river itself turneth north-east, and is still a navigable stream. On the western side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men.”—The meaning of which undoubtedly is—that, supposing the river to divide itself into three several branches, according to Smith, at or near to the town of the Patowomecks, since called Marlborough, which is where Mr. Jefferson has placed them, “the greatest of the least” of these branches, which is exclusive of the largest branch—the main river, “is called *Quiyough*. The similarity of sound between the names *Quiyough* and *Acquia*, together with the location of the latter on Madison's map of Virginia compared with that of the former name on Smith's map, warrants us in supposing, that the creek, now called *Acquia* creek, is that branch called by Smith the *Quiyough*. It is observable also, that this creek, called the *Acquia*, on Madison's map, is immediately above the place called *Marlborough*, supposed to be the ancient scite of the Patowomecks town, as the *Quiyough* is on Smith's map. Agreeably, therefore, to what Smith has further said in the passage just quoted, the *Tauxenents* were seated “on the western side” of the great bend (or “bought”) of the main river—Patowmack, that is, on the Virginia side of the Patowmack, and not on the Maryland side, or “on the north side of the Eastern Branch,” as the anonymous author has stated. To this may be added Mr. Jefferson's authority. In his arrangement or table of the Virginia Indians, he has placed the *Tauxenents* “in Fairfax county, about General Washington's.” Smith, therefore, did not mistake “the Eastern Branch for the main river,” nor were the *Tauxenents* “seated on the north side of the Eastern Branch,” or in Maryland, as stated in this anonymous History.

makes them looke like Blackmoores dusted over with silver. SEC. VII.
 With so much as we could carry we returned to our bote, kinde- 1608.
 ly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people.—The cause of
 this discovery was to search this mine, of which *Newport* did
 assure vs that those small baggs (we had given him) in *England*
 he had tryed to hold half silver; but all we got proved of no
 value;* also to search what furr, the best whereof is at *Cus-*
carawaocke, where is made so much *Rawranoke* or white beads
 that occasion as much dissention among the salvages, as gold
 and silver amongst Christians;† and what other minerals, rivers,

* Although the discovery of a silver mine is not thought in modern times to be a national blessing, yet, as there appears to be strong grounds to suppose the ore of this mine, which the Indians used as a pigment, might have been that of antimony, which from its utility in many of the fine arts, particularly in type-foundry, might be deemed of more value than a mine of silver, a re-discovery or re-examination of it might not be thought altogether frivolous or useless. If the *Acquie* creek, in Stafford county, Virginia, is the same as the “little river here called *Quiyogh*,” as it appears, without doubt, to be, and *Smith* and his party, after going as high up the creek as their boat could go, travelled from thence by land seven or eight miles to the mine, denoted as “a great rocky mountain,” we should suppose, that this mine might still be discovered, and its ore analysed by chemists.

† There seems to be here additional confirmation of the supposition, herein before hazarded, that the *Cuscarawaoke* was the present *Nanticoke* river. *Smith* had before stated, that the nations or tribes on this river were “the best Marchants of all other Salvages.” *Rawranoke*, (by more modern writers written—*Roanoke*,) or white beads, was their money; the use of white is generally indicative of a people disposed to trade or commerce. According to *Beverly*, who compiled his History of Virginia about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Indians still existed in Virginia in considerable numbers, preserving their ancient usages, there were two species of a *medium* of traffick among them,—one, the more valuable, was called *Peake*,—the other *Roenoke*; (the *Rawranoke* of *Smith*;) the former was made of the *conk*-shell, (or perhaps more properly written *chonck*-shell;) the latter—*Roenoke* “was made of the *cockle*-shell, broken into small bits with rough edges, drilled through in the same manner as beads.” (See this subject more copiously enlarged upon hereafter, in note xvi. at the end of this volume.) These materials for their money, either *chonck* or *cockle*-shells, were not to be had from any of the waters of the Chesapeake, but were to be found in abundance on the sea-shores of the Atlantic, particularly the *cockle* shell. The situation of the *Cuscarawaocks*, if on the head-waters of the *Nanticoke*, about Broad-creek, as we have herein supposed, would give to them a more ready and convenient communication with the tribes of Indians situated on the Atlantic coast, among others with those of *Chingoteague*, the few remains of whom are stated by *Beverly* in his History, (p. 199,) as being at that time when he wrote in alliance with the Maryland Indians. Thus connected with the Indians on the Atlantic coast, these *Cuscarawaocks* would be enabled to supply all the Indians on the Chesapeake with *Peake* and *Roenoke*; and from that accidental circumstance of situation they would become in some sort a trading people. To this may be added, that the *Nanticoke*, from the large marshes on its margin, abounded in those animals, the furs of which were held in estimation, as beavers,

SEC. VII. rocks, nations, woods, fishings, fruites, victuali and what other commodities the land afforded: and whether the bay were endlesse or how farre it extended;* of mines we were all ignorant, but a few beauers, otters, beares, martins and minkes we found, and in divers places that aboundance of fish, lying so thicke with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our barge driuing amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan; but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with; neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for small fish, had any of vs euer seene in any place so swimming in the water, but they are not to be caught with frying pans; some small cod also we did see swim close by the shore by *Smith's* isles, and some as high as *Riccard's* cliffs. And some we have found dead upon the shore.

"To express all our quarrels, trecheries, and encounters amongst those salvages, I should be too tedious: but in breefe, at all times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, that they concluded with presants to purchase peace; yet we lost not a man: at our first meeting our captaine euer observed this order to demand their bowes and arrowes, swordes, mantalls and furs, with some childe or two for hostage, whereby we could quickly perceive, when they intended any villany. Having finished this discovery (though our victuall was neere spent,) he intended to

otters, minks, musk-rats, &c. This also would necessarily give the Indians on the Nanticoke great advantages in traffick, compared with those on the western shore of Maryland or on the eastern shore thereof above the Chester river.—These conjectures are all corroborated by a fact to be ascertained at this day. I have been credibly informed, that there are still existing at this day, on the north side of the Nanticoke, large remains of an Indian town, answering as nearly as may be to the location of the *Nantiquacks* on *Smith's* map. Among these remains is a hillock, or high piece of ground, insulated as it were in the midst of a morass or woody swamp of some considerable extent. On this hillock, which tradition among the whites has handed down as the burying-place of the Indians, is to be found an immense quantity of what the white inhabitants call beads, but evidently the Peake and Roenoke of the Indians.

* From this and another passage in the above account of *Smith's* exploration of the Chesapeake clear proof results, that the colonists of Virginia, as well as the members of the Virginia company in England, still entertained at this time strong ideas of the narrowness of the American continent, and that a convenient passage to the South sea through some of the waters emptying into the Atlantic, would soon be discovered. It is evident, that this was one main object of *Smith's* excursion up the Chesapeake; for, in the latter part of this account of this his *first* voyage up the Chesapeake, it is stated, that, when on their return to *James-town* they found the colonists in the greatest disorder and dissention,—“the good news of our discovery, and the good hope we had by the salvages relation, that *our bay had stretched into the south sea*, or somewhat neare it, appeased their fury.”

see his imprisonment acquaintances upon the river of Rappahanock, by many called *Toppahanock*,* but our bote by reason of the ebbe, chancing to ground upon a many shoules lying in the entrance, we spyed many fishes lurking in the reedes: our captaine sporting himself by nayling them to the grownd with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner: thus we tooke more in one houer than we could eate in a day. But it chanced our captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long taylor like a riding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she stricke into the wrist of his arme neare an inch and a halfe: no bloud nor wound was seene, but a little blew spot, but the torment was instantly so extreame, that in foure houres had so swollen his hand, arme, and shoulder, we all with much sorrow concluded his funerall and prepared his graue in an island by, as himselfe directed; yet it pleased God by a precious oyle Doctor *Russell* at the first applied to it with a probe, (ere night) his tormenting paine was so well asswaged, that he eate of the fish to his supper, which gaue no less joy and constant to vs than ease to himselfe, for which we called the island *Stingray* isle after the name of the fish.”†

“It would be unnecessary to insert here the remaining part of this account of *Smith’s* “first voyage” for a discovery of the Chesapeake, inasmuch as it relates principally to their return from the mouth of the Rappahanock to James-town, where they arrived on

* These “imprisonment acquaintances” of captain Smith, on the Rappahanock, appear to have been the “*Nantaughtacunds*,” seated on the right bank or south side of the Rappahanock, a considerable distance up that river, (according to Mr. Jefferson, on the Port Tobacco creek, which forms a part of the borders of Essex and Caroline counties in Virginia,) to which *Indian* town, among a number of others, Smith was led by the Indians after they had taken him prisoner in the year before.

† From the language of the above account, particularly relative to *Smith* himself, it may be clearly inferred, that the narrative of this his first voyage was not altogether drawn up by himself. Accordingly, at the end of this chapter in his history—“Chap. V.”—we find the following subscription:—“Written by *Waller Russell*, *Anas Todkill* and *Thomas Momford*,”—whose names, with their respective additions, have been herein first before mentioned. It would appear, therefore, that Smith had kept no journal of his “voyages” up the Chesapeake, but when he returned to England, and undertook to compile his *General History of Virginia* published in 1629, he formed the narrative thereof principally from the “written” account of the men, whose names are thereto subscribed, together most probably with such remarks upon, and remembrances of, the facts as his own memory of them suggested.

SEC. VII. the 21st of July; having been absent on their excursion nineteen
 1608. days. As the discoveries made in this *first* voyage were evidently very imperfect, and unsatisfactory even to *Smith* himself, he immediately on his return prepared to set out again on another excursion for the further exploration of this capacious bay. Accordingly, within the space of only three days, having resettled the government of Virginia in the hands of Mr. Scrivener, (a gentleman more to be depended upon than Ratcliffe, the preceding president of the council,) and having calmed in some measure the discontents of the colonists there, he again “imbarked himself to finish his discovery,” possibly in the same small vessel as before, after some repairs, though not altogether, as it appears, with the same crew.

“CHAPTER VI.” (of “*The General Historie of Virginia.*”)

“*What happened the second voyage in discovering the Bay.*”

“The 24th of July, captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with twelve men: their names were

“Nathaniel Powell,	} <i>Gentlemen.</i>
Thomas Momford,	
Richard Fetherstone,	
Michell Sicklemore,	
James Bourne,	
Anthony Bagnell, <i>Chir.</i>	
“Jonas Profit,	} <i>Souldiers.</i>
Anas Todkill,	
Edward Pising,	
Richard Keale,	
James Watkins,	
William Ward,*	

“The wind being contrary caused our stay two or three dayes at *Kecoughtan*: (now called *Hampton* in Virginia:) the king feasted vs with much mirth, his people were perswaded we went purposely to be revenged of the *Massawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rackets, which flying in the ayre so terrified the

* Of these twelve man, who accompanied *Smith* in this his *second* voyage up the Chesapeake, Messrs. Momford, Fetherston, Sicklemore, and Bourne, (gentlemen,) and Profit, Todkill, Keale, and Watkins, (soldiers) were of his former party. Anthony Bagnall, *Chirurgion*, (instead of Doct. Russell,) together with Nathaniel Powell, of the “gentlemen,” and Pising and Ward, “soldiers,” were new hands in this *second* expediton.

poor salvages, they supposed nothing impossible we attempted; SEC. VII.
1608.
and desired to assist us. The first night we anchored at *Slings-ray* isle. The next day crossed *Patawomeks* river, and hasted to the river *Bolus*. We went not much further beffore we might see the bay to divide in two heads, and arriving there we found it divided into foure,* all which we searched so farre as we could sayle them. Two of them we found inhabited,† but in crossing the bay we incountred 7 or 8 canowes full of *Massawomeks*,‡ we seeing them prepare to assault us, left our oares and made way with our sayle to incounter them, yet were we but fieve with our captaine that could stand, for within 2 dayes after we left *Kc-*

* It is apparent from Smith's map, that the "foure heads," into which he says the bay appeared to him to be divided, must have been the four rivers, since called the *Susquehanah*, the *North East*, the *Elk*, and *Sassafras* rivers in Maryland.

† It appears in another part of Smith's History, which will be hereinafter stated, that the first of these two rivers, at the head of the bay, so found by him to be inhabited, was the *Susquehanah*, on which, he says, "were seated the *Susquehanocks*," but they "could not get two myles up it with their boat for rocks." The other river, which he now found inhabited, as he says, must have been the *Tockwogh*, which seems to have been that now called the *Sassafras*, as will presently appear.

‡ It appears also from another part of Smith's history, which will be herein after more fully stated, that the first of these rivers, at the head of the bay, examined by him, was the *Susquehanah*, on which he says were seated the *Susquehanocks*, to which he adds,—"*neare it*," (that is, near the *Susquehanah*) "*north and by west* runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe." This creek answers, according to our best modern maps of the State, compared with that of Smith, to the creek now called the *Principio* creek; which, although it runs from the head of the bay in nearly a due north course, yet it being the next water-course to the *Susquehanah*, and lying to the eastward from it, was most probably the creek here alluded to by Smith. In corroboration of this, it is to be remarked, that the course, which the *Susquehanah* bears from the head of the bay, according to Smith's location of it, is nearly north-west. This creek, then, which he next entered, running north and by west, must have emptied into the *Chesapeake* to the eastward of the mouth of the *Susquehanah*, and consequently must have been the *Principio*. He next proceeds to state, that, "we went up another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle;"—which must have been either the *North East* river or the *Elk*: most probably the former, from the circumstance of its being "like a creeke."—"From thence," he says, returning we met 7 canowes of the *Massawomeks*." The "crossing the bay," then, as he says in the text above, must have been from either the *North East* or *Elk* rivers to the western shore, some where most probably near to and a little above or below *Spesutia* island. The circumstance, of the *Massawomeks* going up *Willoughby's* or *Bush* river, after their meeting with Smith, induces a supposition, that the place of their meeting could not have been at a great distance from the mouth of that last mentioned river; (probably a little above it;) or else Smith could not have ascertained the fact of their going up that river; from whence Smith next entered the *Tockwogh*; which again would seem to confirm our supposition, that the *Tockwogh*, mentioned by Smith, was what is now called the *Sassafras*, and not the *Elk*, as will presently be further stated.

SEC. VII. *coughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply,*) were sicke almost to death, until they were seasoned to the country. Having shut them under our tarpawling, we put their hats upon stickes by the barges side, and betwixt two hats a man with two peeces, to make us seeme many, and so we thinke the *Indians* supposed these hats to be men, for they fled with all possible speed to the shore, and there stayed, staring at the sayling of our barge till we anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come unto us. At last they sent two of their company unarmed in a canow, the rest all followed to second them if neede required. These two being but each presented with a bell, brought aboard all their fellowes; presenting our captaine with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrowes, clubs, targets,† and beare skinnes. We understood them nothing at all, but by signes, whereby they signified unto vs they had beene at warres with the *Tockwoghes*, the which they confirmed by shewing vs their greene wounds, but the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.‡

“Entring the river of *Tockwogh*,‡ the salvages all armed, in

* Meaning those colonists, who had arrived in Virginia, with captain *Nelson*, in the *Phœnix*, in the spring of 1608.

† The structure of these “targets,” or shields, is thus described by *Smith*, in another place—“They are made of little small sticks wouen betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our cloth, but so firmly that no arrow can possibly pierce them.”—*Smith* and his party afterwards found these targets or shields of considerable use to them in their defence from the arrows of the *Indians*, not only by fixing them on the gunwales of their vessel, but by wearing them on their arms. The use of these targets or shields seems to have been peculiar to these *Massawomeks*; few, if any, of the North American *Indians* beside these, being known to use them, even before they had been furnished with fire-arms, except the *Susquchanocks*, who most probably adopted the use of them from their deadly enemies—these *Massawomecks*. It was possibly owing to this invention of defence in their tactics, that these *Massawomecks* were so formidable to other *Indians* before fire-arms came in use generally among them, being thus rendered, as it were, invulnerable to the weapons of their common enemies. The fire-arms, with which they were within a few years from this time furnished by the Dutch of New York, must, however, have quickly superseded their use of shields or targets.

‡ They went up the Willoughby or Bush river, as he states in another place.

‡ In the before mentioned anonymous History of Maryland, the author thereof in his summary account of the Maryland *Indians*, after mentioning “the *Susquehanah* tribe,” thus proceeds in his statement,—“Crossing to the eastern shore, we next meet the *Zackwogh* tribe, who resided on Elk river, and counted one hundred warriors; after them, we meet the *Osinies*, who probably dwelt on the modern *Sassafras* river, and led against their enemies sixty men.” We must again resort to a supposition of a typographical error in the appellation,

a fleete of boats, after their barbarous manner, round invironed vs; so it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley. But when they saw vs furnished with the *Massawomeks* weapons, and we faining the invention of *Kecoughtan*, to have taken them perforce;* they conducted us to their pallizadoed towne,† mantelled with the barkes of trees, with scaffolds like mounts, brested about with brests very formally. Their men, women and children, with daunces, songs, fruits, furies, and what they had, kindly welcomed vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

which the author or printer has here given to the first mentioned of these tribes; as in *Smith's* History and map that tribe is throughout denominated either *Tockwogh* or *Tockwhogh*; supposing that this author meant, under the name *Zackwogh*, the same tribe as that called by *Smith* the *Tockwoghs*, there being no other mentioned by that *original* historian, to which he could have alluded, it would appear, that he has committed an error in stating that they "resided on *Elk* river." We have just before shown, that from several passages of *Smith's* History, relative to this part of his voyages up the Chesapeake, that his meeting with the *Massawomecks* could not have been much above the *Willoughby* or *Bush* river on the western shore. In another place of his History, where he makes a summary of his discoveries in the Chesapeake, which will be hereinafter stated, after mentioning this meeting with the *Massawomecks*, he says—"the next day we discovered the small river and people of *Tockwhogh*, trending eastward." It being near night, (as he says, "the night parting us,") when the *Massawomecks* left them and went up *Bush* river, *Smith* and his party must have remained, most probably, stationary the whole of that night where they then were, on the western shore of the bay, not much above *Bush* river, and the next day discovered the river of *Tockwogh*. This circumstance seems to afford a strong ground for us, on which to rest our opinion, that the *Tockwogh* of *Smith* was the modern *Sassafras* river. He adds also, that it was a "small river," and the *Sassafras* is certainly a smaller river than the *Elk*. Also, that the *Tockwogh* trended "eastward;" the *Sassafras* is now known to run nearly due east and west; but the *Elk*, a larger river, trends from the bay up into the country almost in a direct *north-east* course. Besides, whoever will examine *Smith's* map will see, that the southernmost river of the four heads of the bay, alluded to by him, and on which river he has placed the town of the *Tockwoghs*, corresponds with the present *Sassafras* river nearer than any other now known; and that the seat of the *Osinies* was evidently on the *Chester* river, as will hereinafter more plainly appear. N.B. The author in his Introductory volume, already published, has expressed his conjecture, that the *Tockwogh* of *Smith* might be the modern *Chester* river. He had not then been able to procure *Smith's* History; on obtaining which, this supposition was immediately done away.

* This alludes to what was told to the *Kecoughtans*, (at *Hampton*,) by *Smith* and his party, on their return from their first excursion up the Chesapeake, to wit,—“what spoyle they had got and made of the *Massawomecks*.”

† This town, or king's residence, as denoted by *Smith* on his map, is placed by him on the left bank or south side of the river called by him the *Tockwogh*. Supposing the *Sassafras* to be the same as the *Tockwogh*, the town would have been somewhere a little below *George-town*, in *Kent* county, and on the same side of the river.

SEC. VII. 1603. "Many hatchets, knives, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they reported to have from the *Sasquesahanocks*, a mightie people and mortall enemies with the *Massawomeks*.* The *Sasquesahanocks* inhabit upon the chiefe spring of these four branches of the bayes head, two dayes journey higher than our barge could passe for rocks,† yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter, to perswade the *Sasquesahanocks* to come visit vs, for their language are different.‡ Three or four dayes we expected their returne, then sixtie of those gyant-like people came downe, with presents of venison, tobacco pipes three foot in length, baskets, targets, bowes and arrowes. Five of their chiefe *Werowances* came boldly aboard vs to crosse the bay for *Tockwhogh*, leaving their men and canowes; the winde being so high they durst not passe.§

"Our order was daily to haue prayer, with a psalme, at which

* The *Susquehanocks* must, without doubt, have obtained these hatchets, &c. from some of the northern nations of Indians, who were then in the habit of trading with the French on the St. Lawrence. They could not have then obtained them from the Dutch, which they afterwards did in great abundance, as no Dutch settlements then existed in North America. Hudson unquestionably did not discover his grand river of the present State of New York until the year 1609.

† Smith has denoted in his map the town or king's residence of the *Susquehanocks* as being at this time, 1608, on the left bank or east side of the *Susquehanah*, nearly seven leagues, or about twenty English miles up the *Susquehanah*; which would seem to have been somewhere nearly opposite to the mouth of what is called *Muddy creek*, on the west side of the *Susquehanah*, in Pennsylvania. The *falls*, where he was stopped in his ascent, he lays down as being about four leagues or twelve miles up the river; but by our modern maps the distance from the mouth of the river to the falls appears to be only four or five miles.

‡ Smith, in another place of his History, (which will be herein after stated,) has enumerated the "many severall nations of sundry languages, that environed Powhatan's territories."—Among these he mentions—"the *Sasquesahanocks* and the *Tockwoghes*," as differing in their languages not only from the *Powhatans*, but from each other. The "interpreter" first mentioned above, who was to take with him "another interpreter," was most probably the *Tockwogh* Indian, as before mentioned, who could "speak the language of Powhatan."—By taking with him another *Tockwogh*, who understood the *Susquehanock* language, they could both together interpret to Smith and his party; some of whom we must necessarily suppose from what is above stated, understood the *Powhatan* language.

§ From what is stated in these two last sentences above, we must necessarily suppose, that Smith and his party, after "entering the river of *Tockwogh*," and visiting the "towne," returned to the *Susquehanah* river, with the two interpreters above mentioned, and there waited till the *Susquehanocks* came down the river, where the five *Susquehanock Werowances* embarked with them for the *Tockwogh*.

solemnitie the poore salvages much wondered, our prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultaion* till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sunne, with a most fearful song, then embracing our captaine, they began to adore him in like manner : though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished : which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce ; began an oration of their loues ; that ended, with a great painted beares-skin they covered him : then one ready with a great chayne of white beads, weighing at least six or seaven pounds, hung it about his necke, the others had 18 mantels, made of diuers sorts of skinnes sowed together ; all these with many other toyes they layd at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his creation to be their governour and protector, promising their aydes, victualls, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomeks*.—But we left them at *Tockwuhogh*, sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them. Many descriptions and discourses they made vs, of *Atquanachack*, *Massawomek*, and other people, signifying they inhabit upon a great water beyond the mountaines, which we vnderstood to be some great lake, or the river of *Canada* : and from the French to haue their hatchets and commodities by trade.† These know no more of the territories

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*Whether this be a typical error, or the use of an obsolete word, it certainly means the same as the word—consultation. The latin verb—*consulo*—seems to be the root of the term.

† From the structure of the above sentence, some doubt arises, whether “ their hatchets and commodities by trade,” were procured immediately from the French by the Susquehanocks themselves, or through the intermediate traffick of the *Massawomeks*, or some other northern Indian tribes, with the French. The circumstance of a war then existing between the Susquehanocks and the *Massawomeks* seems to preclude a supposition of the latter case ; but it is possible, that even in case of the war, a few articles of that kind might have been obtained from the *Massawomeks* either by capture or some other means, without supposing a traffick carried on by the Susquehanocks with the French in Canada. It has been before stated, in the Introduction to the History, (already published,) that the French commenced their fur-trade with the Indians on the St. Lawrence about the year 1600, and had annually continued it, (it being found to be very profitable,) until this year of Smith’s exploration of the Chesapeake, 1608, in which year also Champlain laid the foundation of Quebeck. As Hudson did not discover his grand river of the present State of New York until the year 1609, the Dutch were as yet guiltless of furnishing the Iroquois with fire-arms or any other commodities. From the circumstances attending the remarkable battle between the Iroquois and the Adirondacs and Hurons on lake Champlain in the year 1610, with the two latter of whom Champlain and a few Frenchmen,

SEC. VII. of *Powhatan*, than his name, and he as little of them,* but the
1608. *Atquanachuks* are on the ocean sea.†

“The highest mountaine we saw northward we called Peregrine’s mount,‡ and a rocky river, where the *Massawomeks* went

as allies, fought with their fire-arms, the Iroquois (or *Massawomeks* if they were the same) were then entirely ignorant of their use; except such knowledge as they might have acquired from the accidental observation they might have made of them, when they met with Smith in the Chesapeake in the year 1608. Useful articles of domestic life, such as hatchets, &c. might have been procured from the French by the Iroquois or *Massawomeks*, before their hostilities in 1610, either mediately through other Indian tribes or immediately by themselves.

* The *Susquehanocks* were, however, subsequently found to be at war with the *Yoamacoes*, seated on the St. Mary’s river, in St. Mary’s county, Maryland, when the first Maryland colonists arrived there in the year 1634. These *Yoamacoes*, as well as all the Indians in the peninsula between the *Patowmack* and the *Patuxent*, were said to have been in subjection to *Powhatan*, and consequently lived within his “territories” by conquest. At what period between the years 1608 and 1634, the *Susquehanocks* commenced their warfare on the *Yoamacoes* does not appear.

† *Smith* has laid down on his map the seat of the *Atquanachuks*, as being nearly in a north-eastern direction from the head of the Chesapeake, on what he has above called, and described on his map—“the ocean sea;” but which, from our present knowledge, was certainly the present Delaware river or bay. The *Atquanachuks* must have been, therefore, some nation or tribe of Indians, who inhabited the country on the Delaware, some where about the present towns of Wilmington or Newcastle. It is possible, that they might be the same as those, or a tribe of them, mentioned by Mr. Charles Thompson, in his annotations on Jefferson’s Notes, under the denomination of *Lenopi*, called by Heckewalder *Lenni-Lenape*, by the French *Loups*, and by Penn’s early settlers—the *Delawares*. A little below the *Atquanachuks*, on the same “ocean sea,” as he erroneously supposed, *Smith* has laid down on his map the seat of the *Macocks*, separated from the *Atquanachuks* by a peninsula. A little lower again, on the same “ocean sea,” but nearly due east from the head of the Chesapeake, he has placed the *Chickahokin*; who appear to have been the same Indians as those mentioned by Mr. Thompson, in his annotations just cited, under the denomination of the *Chichohocki*, a tribe, as he says, of the *Lenopi*, and “who dwelt on the west side of the river now called Delaware, but which by the Indians was called *Chihohocki*.”—They must, therefore, have inhabited that part of the present Delaware State, on the Delaware river, lying between the *Apoquimy* and *Red Lyon* creeks.

‡ It will readily be observed by an inspection of *Smith*’s map, that this “mountaine called Peregrine’s mount,” was supposed by him to have been at the head of the third branch, (or the third one of the “four heads,”) of the Chesapeake eastward from the *Susquehanah*. The next to the *Susquehanah* was, as herein before stated, the present *North East* river, called by *Smith* in his map—“*Gunter’s Harbour*.” The next to that (the third head) appears to have been the *Elk* river, at the head of which he has placed this mountain—called by him *Peregrine’s Mount*; and which is, most probably, that since celebrated mount—called *Gray’s Hill*, where Sir William Howe, in the revolutionary war, in 1777, made his first lodgment, after debarking his army at the head of the *Elk* river.

vp, *Willowbyes* river,* in honor of the towne our captaine was borne in, and that honorable house the Lord Willowby, his most honored good friend.† The *Susquesahanocks* river we called *Smith's* falles;‡ the next poynt to *Tockwhogh*, *Pising's* poynt;§ the next poynt *Bourne*.|| *Powell's* Isles and *Smal's* poynt is by the river *Bolus*;¶ and the little bay at the head—*Profit's* poole;** *Watkins*, *Reads*, and *Mumford's* poynts are on each side Limbo;††

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* This river, as before stated, can be no other than *Bush* river, on the western shore of the Chesapeake, as is evident from an inspection of Smith's map.

† Smith was a native of the town of Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, and, when a very young man, travelled to France with Peregrine Bertie, the second son of Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, of Lincolnshire, in the capacity of servant. In testimony of his gratitude to the family, he therefore gave the above names to the mount and river.

‡ A place in the Susquehanah river, about five miles from its mouth, is still denominated—*Smith's* Falls, in the latest (Griffith's) map of Maryland.

§ In his map it is called—"Poynt Pesinge," (probably after *Edward Pising* or *Pesing*, one of the "souldiers" of his party, and possibly the first discoverer thereof,) and is denoted thereon as the next promontory on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, below the mouth of the Tockwogh. Supposing the Tockwogh to have been the same as the Sassafras, "Poynt Pesinge" must have been one of the two head-lands between the mouth of that river and Worton creek in Kent county.

|| "Poynt Bourne" is evidently the same as that now called *Swan* point, in Kent county, directly opposite to the *Bolus* or Patapsco river.

¶ *Powell's* Isles, probably so called from Nathaniel Powell, one of the "gentlemen" of the party, are evidently the three islands on the western shore of the bay, one of which is now called *Pool's* island, (possibly a corruption of the name—*Powell*,) all of them delineated on Smith's map very exactly agreeable to modern maps, the former one, (*Pool's* island,) just below the *Bush* river, and the two others at the mouth of what is now called the Gunpowder river, immediately below the mouth of which is *Small's* point, probably the promontory formed by what are now called the Middle and Back rivers.

** This little bay, called by them—*Profit's* poole, (probably after *Jonas Profit*, one of the "souldiers" of the party,) appears to have been that, now obviously perceptible on the latest maps, formed by the two small islands last mentioned, near the main land, and the southern promontory or cape of what is called Middle river. The river, now called Gunpowder, was evidently passed by and unknown to Smith, though he seems to have intimated on his map, that he supposed there was a river there.

†† Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake appears to have been very imperfect, though very exact so far as his examination of the bay and its shores extended. In this account of his voyage, the whole of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, from *Swan*-point in Kent county to the lower part of Dorchester county near to Limbo, is skipt over by him without notice. His delineation, on his map, of three large islands, called by him—*Winstone's* Isles, represented by him as being nearly of equal size, and stretching along the Eastern Shore from *Swan* point to an indentation of the shore, which we may suppose he intended for the Chop-tank river, demonstrates, that in both his excursions up the bay, he kept close to the Western shore, without minutely examining any part of the Eastern below the Tockwogh. Hence the Isle of Kent must have been entirely unknown

SEC. VII. Ward, Cantrell, and Sicklemore, betwixt *Patawomek* and *Pamaun-*
 1608. *kee*,* after the names of the discoverers. In all those places and the

furthest we came vp the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we would, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in some places crosses of brasse, to signifie to any, Englishmen had been there.

“Thus having sought all the inlets and rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*, these people we found very tractable, and more civill than any, we promised them, as also the Patawomeks, to revenge them of the *Massawomeks*, but our purposes were crossed.”†

Here ends all that is said in Chap. VI. of Smith’s History, as to “what happened the second voyage in discovering the bay,” that has immediate relation to Maryland. The narrative of this “second voyage” up the bay is subscribed in like manner of that of the former one, thus—“Written by *Anthony Bagnall*,” (who appears to have acted as surgeon on the occasion, as Dr. *Russell* had done before,) “*Nathaniel Powell*, and *Anas Todkill*.”

Prior to the preceding narratives of Smith’s two voyages up the Chesapeake, he has inserted in the “Second Booke” of his General History of Virginia, a kind of prefatory and summary account and description of the country called Virginia; in which he has confined himself, for the most part, to that part of the country contiguous to and bordering on the Chesapeake bay, comprehending both Virginia and Maryland; and in which are many remarks as illustrative of the first discoveries in the latter

to him, or considered by him as main land. The Chester, the Wye, the St. Michael’s, and the Choptank rivers must also have been unobserved by him; though, by two slight delineations on his map, he has intimated, that he supposed there were rivers, both where the Chester and the Choptank are now known to be, and on the former has placed the seat, or king’s residence, of a tribe of Indians denominated the *Ozinties*. The country from the Chester southward to the Choptank he has called—*Brooke’s Forest*. By “*Momford’s point*,” he must have meant either Hooper’s or Barren islands, contiguous to Dorchester county, both unascertained by him; next below which, and just above the *Cuscarawaoock* or Nanticoke, he has laid down a river, called by him *Rapahanock*, but which is most probably that now called Hungary or Hunger river. Watkins’s point must have been the most southern promontory of Somerset county on the bay, and what may be termed the exterior cape of Pocomoke bay. *Read’s point*, still further eastward on the same bay, seems to be the northern cape or headland at the entrance of Pocomoke river, called by Smith the *Wighco*.

* In *Virginia*.

† Smith has been somewhat more explicit in relation to the river Patuxent and its inhabitants, in his chapter containing his summary account of Virginia, an extract from which the reader will presently find herein inserted, to which will be added more particular comments than the above passage requires.

as in the former province. So much of it as relates to Maryland is, as follows:—

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“By these former relations* you may see what inconveniences still crossed those good intents, and how great a matter it was all this time to finde but a harbour, although there be so many. But this *Virginia* is a country in *America* between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the east side are the great ocean: on the south lyeth *Florida*: on the north *nova Francia*: as for the west thereof, the limits are unknowne. Of all this country we purpose not to speake; but onely of that part which was planted by the *English men* in the yeare of our Lord, 1606. And this is under the degrees 37, 38, and 39. The temperature of this country doth agree well with *English* constitutions, being once seasoned to the country.† Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes, and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not onely to have made them sicke, but even to end their dayes.

“The sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the winter cold as in *France* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in June, July, and August, but commonly the coole breezas asswage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, January, and halfe March. The cold is extreame sharpe, but here the proverbe is true, that *no extreame long continueth*.‡

* These “relations” were the accounts, inserted in what he called his “First Booke of the General History,” of the different voyages made to North America, prior to the first settlement in Virginia in the year 1606; as of those of Columbus, Cabot, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Amidas and Barlow, Sir Richard Grenville, Pring, and Weymouth; which have been heretofore touched upon in our introductory volume already published.

† Mr. Henley, in one of his annotations on Shakspeare’s “All’s well that ends well,” commenting on the word “seasoning,” says, “the word is still used in the same sense in *Virginia*, to which government, and especially on the Eastern Shore of it, where the descendants of the first settlers have been less mixed with later emigrants, many expressions of Shakspeare’s time are still current. The word “seasoning” is still well known in Maryland, as well as in Virginia, in the sense above used by Smith, as also by him in another passage before stated. Shakspeare and Smith were nearly cotemporaries.

‡ The observations of *Smith* on the climate and weather, peculiar to Virginia and Maryland, which are nearly the same, are very just and correct; as experience teaches us at this day. They suggest reflections upon two very interesting subjects in the science of meteorology, when considered in relation to the United States, and more particularly to Virginia and Maryland. First, why the *medium* temperature of our winters is below, and of our summers above, that of the corresponding latitudes in Europe? And secondly, whether any perceptible alteration of the climate of these states has taken place, since the first set-

SEC. VII. "In the year 1607 was an extraordinary frost in most of Eu-

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tlement of them by Europeans, and if so, what is the cause or causes of that effect? A full discussion of these questions here would far exceed the limits of a note. A remark or two only can be added. It has been assumed as an acknowledged fact, that the *medium* temperature of our winters is 28° below, and that of our summers 8° above (in Fahrenheit's scale) that of the corresponding latitudes in Europe. The most obvious cause of this occurring immediately to the mind, would be the ancient and superior cultivation of the country in Europe in comparison with that of North America. The immense forests, which clothed the country of these Atlantic States, when Europeans first settled here, by preventing the rays of the sun from warming and drying the soil, must have constituted a considerable variance in the temperature of the atmosphere adjacent to the surface of the earth, from what it was in the same latitude in Europe. The gradual clearing away of these forests then, and the admission of the warm rays of the sun to the soil, must in the eye of reason, have created an alteration, if not an amelioration, of the climate. This opinion, so rational in its appearance, seems to have been of long standing in America; but some facts occur which seem to shake the basis of this theory. Among some "Remarks concerning the gradual alteration of the temperature of the air in *America* and in Ireland," by an anonymous writer, (who appears to have been then a resident of Ireland,) in or about the year 1676, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, (*Lowthorp's* Abridgment, vol. ii. p. 42,) I find the following:—"That in *America* (at least as far as the English plantations are extended) there is an extraordinary alteration, as to temperature, since the *Europeans* began to plant there first, is the joint assertion of them all. The change of temperature is, and not without some reason, generally attributed to the cutting down of vast woods, together with the clearing and cultivation of the country. But that Ireland should also considerably alter, without any such manifest cause, doth very much invalidate that reason." This idea of an alteration, if not an amelioration, of the climate of Virginia and Maryland, seems to have continued with the progress of their growth. In "An account of Maryland, by Mr. *Hugh Jones*," an inhabitant of the Western Shore of Maryland, written in or about the year 1699, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, (*Lowthorp's* Abridgment, vol. iii p. 600,) the supposition is again mentioned. "The air is now more wholesome than formerly, which I suppose proceeds from the opening of the country, that giving the air a freer motion: our summers are not extreme hot, as in the first seating; but our winters are generally severe, towards what they are in England. The north west wind is very sharp in winter, and even in the heat of summer it mightily cools the air; and too often at that time a sudden north-western strikes our labourers into a fever, when they are not careful to provide for it, and put on their garments while they are at work." A modern philosophic writer of America, (Mr. *Williamson*, in his "Observations on the climate of America,") has also adopted this opinion of both the alteration and amelioration of our climate, and accordingly affirms—"It is well known, that in the Atlantic States the cold of our winters is greatly moderated." But, notwithstanding the generality and currency of this opinion, rational as it appears to be, some stubborn facts rise up and militate against it. The opinion, that Italy has undergone a great improvement in the mildness of its climate from what it was in the time of the Romans, seems to have prevailed in Europe as generally as that of America here. But Mr. Eustace, in his late classical tour through Italy, has combated this idea with apparent success, contending that the climate remains the same as it was fifteen hundred years ago. That the greater degree of cold in the Atlantic States of America than what prevails in Europe, is principally owing to the

rope, and this frost was found as extreame in *Virginia*.* But the SEC. VII.

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opening and clearing the forests of the country, seems to be further invalidated by a fact, I find stated both by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes, and by Mr. Volney, in his "View of America;" which is, that at places in the new states west of the Allegany mountains and bordering on the Mississippi, there is a greater degree of warmth, amounting at least to three degrees of latitude in favour of these western states, compared with the places on the Atlantic coast of either Virginia or Maryland in corresponding latitudes. But these western states, particularly towards the valley of the Mississippi, must be near a century behind the States of Virginia and Maryland in the clearing of their forests and in the denudation of their soil, and in the consequent exposure of it to the rays of the sun. Mr. Pike, in his voyage up the Mississippi, in the year 1805, found on the eleventh of August, his thermometer as high as 108° , in the latitude of 39° , which is about or nearly in the parallel of Annapolis, in Maryland; a degree of heat never known, I believe, in Maryland. In the State of Illinois, where this heat occurred, although there are prairies of considerable extent, yet vast forests must still abound, to cool the air, if they act at all in that manner. Again, in the winter of 1780, the Chesapeake in Maryland was frozen over from its head as low down as the mouth of the Patowmac,—a circumstance never known before in Maryland, not only in the memory of the oldest men in the State then living, or handed down to them by tradition from the first settlement of the province in 1634. The coldness of the climate or winters of Maryland, we may therefore suppose, has not abated, although its forests are nearly extirpated. On the other hand, however, the diseases incident to the climate seem to have undergone a very perceptible alteration. Intermittent agues and fevers arising from the heat of summer and the first of autumn, or pleurisies from extreme cold in winter, are certainly not now so commonly known in the country as formerly; but to them have succeeded fevers of a typhous and malignant nature. This seems to indicate some great change in the climate.

* This is corroborated by the observations of other cotemporary writers. That there was "an extraordinary frost in most of Europe," in the winter of 1607, immediately preceding the summer of Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake in 1608, receives considerable proof from a pamphlet, entitled, "The Great Frost, Cold Doings, &c., in London, 1608." This pamphlet is cited by Mr. Steevens in his annotations on Shakspeare's play of King John, in illustration of the passage in king John's last dying speech in that play, when he supposed himself to have been poisoned.

"And none of you will bid the winter come,

"To thrust his icy fingers in my man."

A similar passage occurs in the pamphlet.—"The cold hand of winter is thrust into our bosoms." The words, "in London, 1608," appear to denote the date and place of the publication, to wit, "in London," in the spring of the year 1608, soon after the "Great Frost" of the preceding winter. Shakspeare and Smith, as herein before observed, were nearly cotemporaries. The former died in 1623; the latter in 1631; each above fifty years old. The commentators on the language of the former, therefore, throw much light on that of the latter.—Of the severity of this winter, of 1607–8, throughout North America, other authorities attest. In the life of Gorges by Belknap, it is noticed as being very severe in New England; and L'Escarbot, who was in Canada about this time, (in his *Hist. de la Nouv. France*,) remarks, that "the last winter of 1607–8, was the hardest that ever was seen. Many savages died through the rigour of the weather." It is stated also in *Purchas's Pilgrimages*, that "by the bitterness of that great frost, above half the Virginian colonists took their deaths," but, agreeably

SEC. VII. next yeare for 8 or 10 dayes of ill weather, other 14 dayes would
1608. be as sommer.

"The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I have seldome either scene or heard in *Europe*. From the south-west came the greatest gusts with thunder and heat.* The north-west winde is commonly coole and bringeth fair weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the east and south-east as from ths *Bermudas*, fogs and raines.

"Sometimes there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not but that all the raritie of needful fruits in *Europe*, may be there in great plentie, by the industrie of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

"There is but one entrance by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly bay, 18 or 20 myles broad. The cape on the south is called *Cape Henry*, in honour of our most noble prince. The land white hilly sands like unto the Downes, and all along the shores great plentie of pines and firres.

"The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of York. The isles before it, *Smith's* isles, by the name of the discoverer. Within is a country that may have the prerogative over the most places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable rivers, heaven and earth never agreed better to frame

to what Smith has stated above, this severe frost was recompensed with as mild a winter with them the next year."

* This does not seem to be exactly correspondent to the well known fact at this day in Maryland, and for these fifty years past; inasmuch as our "greatest gusts" most commonly come from the *north-west*, at least in the summer season. Theoretically speaking, however, Smith is herein somewhat correct. According to Volney's theory of our summer-gusts, (and he seems to have bestowed peculiar attention to our climate and winds, and herein appears to be highly plausible and ingenious,) they result from a meeting or counteraction of the south-west and north-west or north-east winds on the west side of the Allegany mountains. The south-west wind, in this case, is a kind of trade-wind, which, sweeping from the gulf of Mexico, traverses up the basins of the Mississippi and Ohio, loaded with warm and moist vapours. Meeting there with a north-west or north-east wind, it is there checked in its further progress; until these winds, by their joint or antagonist action against each other, accumulate their vapours so as to surmount their natural mound—the Allegany mountains; when, rushing over its summits, this combined fluid, according to the laws of gravity, descends, like a torrent, upon the valley of the Atlantic States. Our summer-gusts may, therefore, be said to come originally or in part from the south-west, as Smith states; but certainly not as he meant—perceptibly to the eye. Perhaps indeed about James-town, which is more towards the southern point of the Allegany ridge, and where he was most conversant in Virginia, they may rise more to the southward than in Maryland.

a place for man's habitation; were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers, and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire bay, compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightful land. In the bay and rivers are many isles both great and small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This bay lyeth north and south, in which the water floweth neare 200 myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding a breadth for the most part 10 or 14 myles. From the head of the bay to the north-west, the land is mountainous, and so in a manner from thence by a south-west line; so that the more southward the farther off from the bay are those mountaines.* From which fall certaine brookes which after come to five principall navigable rivers. These run from the north-west into the south-east, and so into the west side of the bay, where the fall of every river is within 20 or 15 myles one of the other.

“The mountaines are of divers natures: for at the head of the bay the rockes are of a composition like mill-stones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces like christall we found, as throwne downe by water from those mountains. For in winter they are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in some narrow valleyes, which is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures, that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better judgments than ours might have beene perswaded, they contained more than probabilities.* The vesture of the earth in most places doth manifestly proue the nature of the soyle to be lusty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole armoniac, terra a sigillata, and lemnia*, fuller's earth, marle, and divers and other such appearances. But generally for the most part it is a blacke sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c.

* The course of the Allegany “mountaines” is, for the most part, nearly from the north-east to the south-west. The Chesapeake, as Smith has observed above, runs nearly north and south. Hence the “mountaines” appear to recede from the bay towards its mouth.

SEC. VII. 1603. "The country is not mountenous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plains, hils, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with fresh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, than delightsome. By the rivers are many plaine marishes, containing some 20, some 100, some 200 acres, some more, some lesse.

"Other plaines there are few, but onley where the salvages inhabit, but all overgrowne with trees and weeds, being a plaine wilderness as God first made it."

Smith next herein proceeds to describe the rivers, and the particular tribes of Indians seated thereon, on the western shore of *Virginia*; but as his account thereof has no particular connexion with a history of *Maryland*, it is here omitted.

"The fourth river is called *Patawomeke*, 6 or 7 myles in breadth. *It is navigable 140 myles*,* and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils. These hils many of them are planted,† and yield no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. It is inhabited on both sides. First on the south side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco*, and hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sakacawone* with 30. The *Anawmanient* with 100. And the *Patawomekes* more than 200.‡ Here doth the river divide itselfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches. The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough*,§ trending northwest, but the river itselfe turneth northeast, and is still a navigable streame. On the western side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men.|| On the north of this river is *Secowocomoco* with

* This nearly corresponds with the actual distance, measured with the windings of the channel of the river from the mouth thereof to the city of Washington, where the falls impede further navigation.

† Smith could mean here only, that they were planted; that is, settled or cultivated by the Indians; for no plantation of Europeans had been as yet seated on the Patowmack.

‡ The scites of these Indian towns have been before stated in the account of Smith's first tour up the Chesapeake.

§ Undoubtedly the *Acquia* creek, as herein before stated.

|| Mr. Jefferson has stated this Indian town, called Tauxenent, to have been in Fairfax county, Virginia, "about Gen. Washington's."—The word "bought," in the text above, though apparently obsolete, means the *bend* of the river opposite to Mount Vernon. It is explained in Johnson's Dictionary, as being synonymous to the words "twist" and "flexure," and is so used by Milton in his *Allegro*:

"In notes, with many a winding *bout*,
Of linked sweetness long drawn^{out}."

40.* Somewhat further *Potopaco* with 20.† In the east part is SEC. VII.
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Pamacacack with 60.‡ After *Moyowance* with 100. And
 lastly, *Nacotchtanks* with 80.§ The river above this place
 maketh his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshadowed

* The distance of Secowocomoco or Cecomocomoco, from the mouth of the river Patowomeke, as laid down by Smith, on his map, is about ten leagues. Accounting three miles to the league, this will nearly correspond with the distance of the mouth of the *Wicomoco* river from that of the Patowmack; which *Wicomoco* river divides St. Mary's and Charles counties, in Maryland, from each other, on the north side of the Patowmack. This Indian town called Secowocomoco, in the text, but Cecomocomoco on Smith's map, was most probably, therefore, situated on the same *Wicomoco* river last mentioned.

† As this place, *Potopaco*, is stated to have been "somewhat further" up the Patowmack, on the north side thereof, then Secowocomoco, or Wicomoco, it would appear to have been the same as that now called Port Tobacco. Smith's location of it on his map, is in conformity to this supposition. Our early English colonists of that part of Maryland, who were tobacco-planters, would very naturally and aptly convert the Indian name, Potopaco, although it probably had originally a different meaning, into Port-Tobacco,—a haven convenient to them for the exportation of that produce, and therefore an appellation more appropriate as well as more familiar to them. Smith has laid down on his map two or three other Indian towns, or "ordinary howses," as he calls them, next in succession above Potopaco and on the same (Maryland) side of the river, which he has not mentioned in the text above. Immediately above Potopaco he has laid down on his map two of these towns, or "ordinary howses," to which he has not affixed any name; but, a little above these, a third one he calls *Nushemouck*. There is no name in Griffith's map of Maryland, which corresponds in sound with this, at least in that part of Charles county, but from its location on Smith's map, it would appear to have been somewhere about Nanjem river. Three other towns, or "ordinary howses," Smith has located on the Maryland side of the river; one just above *Nushemouck*, and two others in the great bend directly opposite to the town of the Patowomekes and the mouth of the Quiyough or Acquia creek, but without affixing to them any names. Next above these, and about four or five miles above the Acquia, was *Nussamek*, on the Maryland side, denoted as a "king's howse." Next above *Nussamek*, and on the Maryland side, was *Mataughquamend*, which evidently seems to be the same as the creek now called *Matawoman*. The distance on Smith's map from the mouth of the Quiyough to the town and creek of *Mataughquamend* corresponds very nearly with the distance on Griffith's map of Maryland from the mouth of the Acquia to the mouth of the Matawoman creek or run in Charles county, about eight miles.

‡ There appear on Smith's map two places on the Patowmack denominated *Pamacacack*; one on the Virginia side of that river, opposite to *Nassamek*, just before mentioned; and another on the Maryland side just above *Mataughquamend*. From the expression in the text above,—“In the east part, &c.” the place thereby meant must have been a place of that name just above the *Mataughquamend* or *Matawoman* creek, in what is now called Maryland.

§ The *Moyowance* above mentioned, appear to be the same as the *Moyaones* before mentioned by Smith, in the account of his first tour up the Chesapeake; where also the scite of the *Nacotchtanks* is stated.

SEC. VII. in many places with high rocky mountaines; from whence dis-
 1608. till innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.*

"The fift river is called *Pawtuxunt*, of a lesse proportion than the rest; but the channell is sixteen fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit skuls of divers kindes of fish more than elswhere. Upon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuah*, *Pawtuxunt* and *Mattapanient*. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other we found most civill to give intertanement.†

* This part of Smith's description of the Patowmack seems to afford some proof, that he sailed up that river as high as it was navigable for his vessel—to where the city of Washington, or rather Georgetown, now stands; and here terminated the extent of his exploration of that noble river. As there are a few places, however, on the Maryland side of that river, from the "falles" thereof to its mouth, which he has not mentioned in the text of his History, although he has denoted them on his map, a few supplementary remarks thereon may not be altogether improper. About mid-way between the Moyaones and the Nacotch-tanks, on the Maryland side of the Patowmack, he has laid down a small creek, emptying into the Patowmack, and has denoted thereon two or three small towns, or "ordinary howses," to which creek he has affixed the name of *Tessamatuck*. From a comparison with a modern map, this place seems to have been somewhere about Oxen-creek, in Prince George's county. A few miles below the Moyaones, on the Maryland side, he has denoted also a small creek and town, to which he has affixed the name of *Cinquactack*, and which seems to correspond with that now called Piscataway. Considerably lower down the river also, and on the Maryland side, he has laid down on his map, but not mentioned in his book, a small town which he calls *Monanauk*, about eighteen or twenty miles from the mouth of the river. This place appears to correspond in the distance from the mouth of the river, as just mentioned, with that of Britton's bay or Clement's branch, in St. Mary's county. To which may be here added, in conclusion of his description of the Patowmack, that the north point or cape at the mouth of that river, now called Point-Look-out, is denoted by him as "Sparke's poynt."

† The *Acquintanacksuah* town, or "king's howse," called by Smith on his map *Acquintanacksuck*, is there denoted by him, as situated on the right bank or south side of the Patuxent, about twelve miles from the mouth of that river. A small creek, about two miles and a half above a place called Cole's Inspection-house, in St. Mary's county, seems to correspond with Smith's location of this tribe. The town of the Pawtuxunts, (the most considerable one upon this river, as we may suppose, from its having either received its name or given it to the river,) denoted also by Smith as a "king's howse," appears, from his location of it, to have been on the north side or left bank of the river, in Calvert county, and nearly opposite to *Acquintanacksuck*. No town or place of the name of *Mattapanient* is laid down by Smith on his map; so that the exact scite or situation of it cannot be ascertained by us. It is certain, however, that one of the *hundreds*, or civil divisions of St. Mary's county, was, soon after its settlement by Lord Baltimore's colony, denominated *Mattapanient* hundred; as will hereinafter appear. It would seem also, that this hundred lay in that part of the coun-

“Thirtie leagues northward is a river not inhabited, yet navigable: for the red clay resembling *bole armoniack* we called it *bolus*. At the end of the bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in breadth, it divides itselfe into 4 branches, the best commeth north-west from among the mountaines, but though canows may goe a dayes journey or two up it, we could not get two myles up it with our boat for rockes. Upon it is seated the *Sasquesahanocks*, neare it north and by west runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe: at the head whereof the Eble left us on shore, where we found many trees cut with hatchets. The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some salvages; (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not any, being a barren country,) we went up another small river like a creeke, 6 or 7 myle. From thence returning we met 7 canowes of the *Massawomeks*, with whom we had conference by signes, for we understood one another scarce a word: the next day we discovered the small river and people of *Tockwhogh* trending eastward.*

ty which bordered on the Patuxent, and towards the mouth thereof. Supposing, therefore, that this hundred took its name from the above mentioned ancient Indian town, the scite of this town was most probably in some part of this hundred and situated somewhere on the Patuxent between its mouth and *Cole's* Inspection-house. The circumstance above mentioned by Smith, that “they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest,” seems to indicate, that the *Mattapanient* town was situated also not far from the other two; probably near the *Acquintanacksucks*, being on the same side of the Patuxent. These three places, being the residences of the Werowances, or kings, on the Patuxent, are all that Smith has thought proper to describe in his General History. He has, however, laid down on his map a considerable number of little towns, or “ordinary howses,” as he there calls them, seated on the shores of the Patuxent. But, as we have no accounts of any thing relating to them, the bare mention of their names, in the order in which they are seated on both sides of that river, seems to be sufficient. Immediately above the *Acquintanacksucks*, and on the same side of the river, is *Wasmacus*, then *Acquaseack*, (which last possibly is a place now called *Acquases*, in Prince George's county,) *Wasapekent*, *Macocanaco*, *Pocatamough*, *Quotough*, *Wosamens* and *Matpanient*, which last is denoted as the highest seated up the river on the south and west side thereof, and seems to correspond with the creek now called *Mattapany*. Nearly opposite to *Matpanient*, and on the north or east side of the Patuxent, near the little town called *Cuacataugh*, then next below was *Wepanawomen*, then next in order, still descending the river, were *Tanskus*, *Waseacup*, and *Onnatuck*, which last was just above the great town of the *Pawtuxunts*, above mentioned. Next below *Pawtuxunt* was *Quemocac*, and lastly, *Opament*, which seems to have been about eight or nine miles from the mouth of the river. Further mention of some Indian towns on the Patuxent will be made, when we come to state the excursion or visit made to the Patuxent by John Pory, secretary of Virginia, in the year 1621.

* What is contained in the preceding paragraph, has been commented on before, where Smith's second tour up the Chesapeake is stated.

SEC. VII. "Having lost our grapnell among the rocks of *Sasquesahanocks*,
 1608. we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our barge about two tuns, and had in it but twelve men to performe this discovery, wherein we lay about 12 weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne countries, having nothing but a little meale, oatmeale and water to feed us, and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident, and God's direction; nor had we a mariner nor any had skill to trim the sayles but two saylers and myselfe, the rest being gentlemen, or them were as ignorant in such toyle and labour. Yet necessitie in a short time by good words and examples made them doe that that caused them ever after to feare no colours. What I did with this small meanes I leave to the reader to judge, and the mappe I made of the country, which is but a small matter in regard of the magnitude thereof. But to proceed, 60 of these *Sasquesahanocks* came to us with skins, bowes, arrows, targets, beads, swords, and tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well-proportioned men are seldom seene, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as Gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries, both in language and attire; for their language it may well become their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of beares, and wolves, some have cossacks made of beares heads and skinnes, that a mans head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe, the halfe sleeves comming to the elbowes were the neckes of beares, and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chaine for a jewell, his tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with bowes, arrowes, and clubs, sutable to their greatnesse. These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their townes to defend them from the *Massawomekes* their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboard vs and crossed the *bay* in their barge. The picture of the greatest of them is sig-

nified in the mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crowne like a cocks combe. His arrowes were five quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a woolues skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

“On the east side of the bay is the river *Tockwhogh*,* and upon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river: where they have a fort very well palli-sadoed and mantelled† with barks of trees. Next them is *Ozinies* with sixty men.‡ More to the south of that east side of the

* That this is the same river as that now called the *Sassafras*, we have endeavoured herein before to shew, in our comments on Smith’s second voyage up the Chesapeake.

† This is the obsolete mode of spelling the word *mantled*; which, according to Johnson in his dictionary, sometimes signifies covered, or cloked: for which he cites Shakspeare.

‡ The author of the anonymous History of Maryland, before mentioned, states—that “the *Osinies* probably dwelt on the modern *Sassafras* river.” As he appears to have been erroneous in his location of the *Tockwhoghs*, so is he also in that of the *Osinies*.—If we have succeeded herein before in our endeavours to shew, that the *Tockwhogh* river of Smith was “the modern *Sassafras* river,” it will necessarily follow, according to Smith’s map, that the *Ozinies* must have been seated on the next river below the *Tockwhogh*. But Smith has laid down no river on the Eastern Shore below the *Tockwhogh* and above the three isles, called by him *Winstone’s Isles*, evidently thereby the Isle of Kent, &c. He has, however, made on his map a small indentation, indicating his supposition of a river there just above these isles, and directly opposite to the mouth of his *Bolus* river,—the *Patapsco*; and on this indentation in his map he has denoted the scite of the *Ozinies* by his mark of “king’s howses,” and the name of the *Ozinies* annexed thereto. This location of the *Ozinies*, by Smith, on an opening to the bay on the Eastern Shore, which opening he supposed to be a river, but not fully delineated by him as such on his map, inasmuch as he had not explored it, being directly opposite to the *Patapsco* river, and above the Isle of Kent, demonstrates, that this indentation or opening on the Eastern Shore was intended for the river now called the *Chester*, the mouth of which could not have been passed unobserved by Smith in his ascending and descending the bay; and that the *Ozinies* lived on it he probably had from the *Tockwhoghs* or some other Indians.—That an *Indian* settlement, of some considerable size, was formerly situated on the *Chester* river, is evident from some very remarkable remains still visible on a peninsula in Queen Ann’s county formed by the *Corsica* creek and the *Chester* river. The gentlemen, to whom I believe this peninsula belongs, has informed me by letter, that “within the area of this peninsula there are two hundred acres of land covered deep with oyster-shells, among which have often

SEC. VII. bay, the river *Rapahanock*,* neere unto which is the river *Kuscarawaoock*. Upon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that, is the river *Tanto Wighcomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men.† The people of these rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest and very rude. But they on the river *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the territories of *Powhatan*, and speake his language, who over all these doth rule as king.

1608.

been found Indian weapons, buck-horn, and the bones of the human skeleton. It is perfectly evident," he adds, "that a great body of Indians must have been employed a great while to collect all those shells."—This raises a strong supposition, that the seat of the Ozinies must have been on this spot, which is on the south side of the Chester, and about fifteen or sixteen miles from its mouth. The "sixty men," belonging to them, mentioned by Smith, must have meant that number of warriors; so that, upon the principle before stated, from Mr. Jefferson, of three warriors to ten souls, their tribe, comprising men, women, and children, would have amounted to only two hundred; but, by the more modern rule, (as stated by the superintendant of the Indian trade, in 1820,) of one warrior to ten souls, their tribe would have amounted to about six hundred.

* It will be recollected, that Smith has herein before stated, that the remarkable river in Virginia, now invariably known by the name of the *Rapahanock*, was "by many called *Tappahanock*;" which last name he has annexed to it on his map. But he has also laid down on his map, on the Eastern Shore of the bay, another river denoted by him under the denomination of the *Rapahanock*, (to which he alludes in the text immediately above,) and has placed it next above the river called by him—the *Cuscarawaoock*, (which last river we have supposed to have been the *Nanticoke*,) and also above the isles, to which he affixed the name of *Limbo*. From a comparison of this part of his map with modern maps of Maryland, it will be seen, that this river on the Eastern Shore, which he called the *Rapahanock*, could be no other than the river in Dorchester county called on Griffith's map *Hungary* river, but more commonly by the neighbouring inhabitants—*Hunger* river. This name—*Rapahanock*, he probably had from some of the Eastern Shore Indians during his first voyage up the Chesapeake.

† The above passage confirms our former arrangement of the rivers on the lower part of the Eastern Shore, as herein before stated. Supposing the *Rapahanock*, just above mentioned by Smith, to have been the *Hunger* river in Dorchester county, as we have just ventured to state; "neere unto which is the river *Cuscarawaoock*;" it seems necessarily to follow, that he must have meant by the *Cuscarawaoock*—the *Nanticoke* river, that being the next and nearest river to the *Hunger*, "after that," as he says, "is the river *Tanto Wighcomoco*;"—which may be understood in two different ways; to mean, either the *Wighcomoco* now so called, which is the next river southwardly to the *Nanticoke*, and, by prefixing the word—*Tanto* to it, to distinguish it from the *Wighco*, by which he meant the *Pocomoke*, or the *Wighco* itself laid down by him on his map, evidently the *Pocomoke*, omitting, under this last supposition, the river now known as the *Wighcomoco*, as also that called the *Manokin*, neither of which last, as it appears from his account, he explored in any manner.—How the author of the anonymous History of Maryland before cited could suppose, that the *Cuscarawaoock* was "probably that now called the *Chester*," after perusing the above passage in

“Southward we went to some parts of *Chowanock* and the SEC. VII.
Mangoags to search for them left by Mr. *White*.* Amongst those 1608.

Smith's History, seems extraordinary, and in which he is certainly erroneous. A remark herein before made, may be again repeated, as it appears to be of considerable importance. The term *Wighco*, or *Wighcomoco*, seems to have been a favorite term with the Indians in the denomination of rivers. There are two rivers in Northumberland County, Virginia, near Smith's point at the mouth of the Patowmack, called *Wighcomoco*. There is also a *Wighcomoco* river on the Maryland side of the Patowmack, dividing the counties of St. Mary's and Charles from each other. It appears, therefore, to have had some etymological meaning not now known.

* It will be recollected, as it has been herein before stated, that in the year 1587, a colony, consisting of more than one hundred adventurers, was settled on the island Roanoke, in North Carolina, under a Captain *John White*, as Governor. *White* returned to England in the same year, in order to procure further supplies for the colonists; but the Spanish war preventing any supplies from being sent to them for a year or two after they had been settled there, and nothing concerning them any way satisfactory having been ever afterwards known, they were supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. Sentiments of humanity, however, continuing to prompt many of the members of the Virginia Company in England concerning these unfortunate settlers, instructions were given to Captain Newport, on his second voyage to Virginia, with the second supply of colonists and stores, (who arrived there just about the time of Smith's return from his exploration of the Chesapeake in 1608,) that endeavors should be made to find some of the lost company sent to Roanoke, under a supposition, that some of them might still be alive as captives with the Indians. No efforts, however, appear to have been made by Newport, during his stay in the country after bringing the second supply, which was during the remainder of the year 1608, to find any of the lost company of Governor *White*. But, after Newport's departure for England, Captain Smith set out on a voyage to *Pamaunkee*, (now called *York river*), on the 29th of December, 1608, and stopped by the way at *Warraskoyack*, (now called *Warrasqueake*), where the Isle of Wight county borders on the James river. Here he prevailed upon the king of the *Warraskoyacks* to furnish him with two guides to accompany “Mr. *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honest, and painefull souldier,” as Smith terms him, (probably the same *Michell Sicklemore*, who had attended him in his two voyages up the Chesapeake,) on a visit to the *Chowanocks*, who lived on the *Chowan* river near the divisional line between North Carolina and Virginia, under a pretence, as Smith says, to carry a present to their king, but in reality “to seeke for the lost company of Sir Walter Raleigh's,” (under *White*) “and silke grasse.”—The king complied, and *Sicklemore* departed with his guides. How long *Sicklemore* was gone on that excursion, is not mentioned; but Smith subsequently states:—“Master *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chowonoke*; but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*,”—meaning the unfortunate people under *White*. He immediately afterwards in the next paragraph states, as follows:—“Master *Nathaniel Powell* and *Anas Todkill*,” (who had, both of them, accompanied him in his previous excursions up the Bay,) “were also by the *Quiyoughcohanoaks*,” (who appear to have lived somewhere about Upper *Chipoack* creek, which divides the counties of Surry and Prince Georges, in Virginia, from each other,) “conducted to the *Mangoags*,” (who lived on the *Nottoway* river, which empties into the *Chowan* in North Carolina,) “to search them there: but nothing could they learne but they were all dead.”—This excursion of *Powell* and *Todkill* was most probably in the spring of 1609, and their

SEC. VII. people are thus many "severall nations of sundry languages,
 1608. that environ Powhatan's Territories. The *Chowanocks*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuvearawaocks*. All these not any one understandeth another but by interpreters."

1620. In further illustration of what may be termed the primeval state of the country now denominated Maryland, may be here added some particulars relative to what is called the "travels" of John Pory, in the year 1620.—Mr. John Pory, "gentlemen," is mentioned, as one of the patentees in the second charter of Virginia, bearing date, May 23d, 1609. He next appears, as one of Sir George Yeardley's council, who arrived in Virginia, as governor of that colony, on the 18th of April, 1619. It is probable, that Pory had been, before that time, a resident in Virginia, in the time of governor Argall; as he is stated to have been closely connected with that governor in his arbitrary and improper proceedings while governor of that colony. He was, however, on the arrival of governor Yeardley appointed a councillor, and held at the same time the office of secretary of the province. Whether this last office had been conferred on him by Argall or Yeardley, does not appear. He succeeded Mr. Rolfe as secretary; but was afterwards discharged from that place by the order of the company in England, for betraying their councils to the Earl of Warwick.* Among the improper proceedings of governor Argall; in which Pory appears as an active sub-agent, both of them under the patronage and encouragement of the Earl of Warwick, who had then formed a little party in the Virginia Company at home, was a scheme "to set up a new plantation in Virginia;" for which purpose they had procured a patent "to the said captain Argall and his associates; whereby he and his company, their heirs and assigns (save only in time of defence by war) were exempted from all power, authority, and jurisdiction, to be from hence" (that is, from the Virginia Company in England,) "devised, or there" (in Virginia) "established, that so he" (the captain) "might reign there as great and absolute master, without law or controlment and

intelligence seems to have quieted all subsequent inquiries concerning those unfortunate colonists. Although Smith's expression above is,—"*we went to Chowanock*," &c.; yet it certainly means only, that persons were sent by him to Chowanock to search, &c.; which appears to have been done under his presidency.

* Burk's Hist. Virg. Vol. 1, p. 273.

without the fear of ever being called to any future reckoning.”* SEC. VII.
 There can be no doubt, but that this scheme was in substance, 1620.
 to do what Lord Baltimore subsequently did, (about which Clay-
 bourne and some other Virginians made such a pothor,) that is,
 to lop off some of the unsettled territories of Virginia, and erect
 a new Province, and a new government distinct from that of
 Virginia. There is every ground of probability to suppose, that
with this view Pory performed his “travels” alluded to. It
 would seem, that he subsequently drew up an account of these
 travels, which was either delivered to or procured by Mr. Sam-
 uel Purchas, and published by him, in the year 1625, in his book
 entitled, *Hackluitus Posthumus*, or Purchas’s Pilgrims.” But,
 not being able to have recourse to this scarce volume in Ameri-
 ca, we are left to rest our narrative of Pory’s travels entirely
 upon the authority of Smith’s statement thereof in his General
 History of Virginia, which statement, from circumstances pre-
 sently mentioned, may be depended upon as being the same, at
 least in substance, as that of Mr. Purchas. Prefatory, however,
 to this statement, it seems to be necessary to promise, as further
 mentioned by Smith in his general history,† that the Virginia
 Company in England, in the year 1619, sent instructions to their
 government in Virginia, that certain lands in different parts of the
 Province, with a certain number of *tenants* thereon, sent by the
 company from England for that purpose, should be appropriated
 to the use of the different officers of the government of the Pro-
 vince, as therein specified, in lieu of salaries; which plantations
 were to go to their *successors* in office: among others, to the go-
 vernor and secretary, each one plantation or tract of land, as
 therein mentioned. In like manner, plantations for the special
 use and profit of the company in England were also to be thus
 settled and planted. Settlements of this kind were accordingly
 made and planted, in pursuance of these instructions on the
 eastern shore of Virginia; particularly, one for the use and pro-
 fit of the company, one for the governor, and one for the use of
 the secretary of the Province *pro tempore*, who, in the year 1620,
 was Mr. John Pory. It was under the ostensible view of visit-
 ing the “secretary’s lands, on the Eastern Shore,” which lands
 appear to have been located at or near to the *Indian* town called
Accomack, a town situated, not in what is now called *Accomack*

* See the company’s declaration, of May 7th, 1623, in *Burk’s Hist. Virg.* Vol. 1. p. 318.

† Smith’s *Hist. Virg.* Vol. ii. p. 40.

SEC. VII. county, but on or near to the little river called *Cheriton* in what
 1620. is now called Northampton county, that Mr. Pory made his excursions, in the year 1620, into other parts of the country bordering on the Chesapeake. An account of which is inserted in Smith's History, as follows:—

“The observations of Master *John Pory*, Secretarie of *Virginia*, in his trauels.

“Having but ten men meanly provided to plant the secretaries land on the eastern shore neere *Acomack*. Captaine *Wilcock's* plantation, the better to secure and assist each other.* Sir George Yearely intending to visit Smith's isles, fell so sicke that he could not, so that he sent me with *Estinien Moll*, a Frenchman, to finde a convenient place to make salt in. Not long after *Namenacus*, the king of *Pawtuxunt*,† came to vs to seeke for *Thomas Saluage*, our interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, he led vs into a thicket, where all sitting downe, he shewed vs his naked brest; asking if we saw any deformitie upon it, we told him, No; No more, said hee, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my countrie and welcome: which wee promised wee would within six weekes after. Having taken a muster of the companies tenants,‡ I went to Smith's isles, where was our salt-house: not farre off wee found a more convenient place, and so returned to *James towne*.

“Being furnished the second time,§ wee arrived at *Aquohanock*,|| and conferred with *Kiptopeke* their king. Passing *Russel's* ile and *Onancoke*, we arrived at *Pawtuxunt*: the description of those places you may reade in captaine *Smith's* discoueries, therefore needlesse to be writ againe.¶ But here arriving

* The sense of the two sentences above seems to be somewhat obscure; but by altering the punctuation of a full stop at the word *Accomack* into a comma, so as to make *Accomack* and captaine *Wilcock's* plantation one and the same place, near which the secretary's lands were, it seems to be rendered more intelligible: but the sentences would be still ungrammatical.

† The *Indian* town on the river *Patuxent* in Maryland, herein before mentioned.

‡ The “tenants” seated on the lands of the Virginia company in England, located on the eastern shore, as before explained.

§ These two excursions appear to have been both in the same year, 1620.

|| The *Indian* town, called *Aquohanock*, appears from Smith's map, compared with Madison's, to have been situated on a river or creek of the same name, which now in part divides the counties of *Accomack* and *Northampton* from each other.

¶ This expression seems to indicate, that the above account, entitled “The Observations of Master Pory,” &c. as printed in *Smith's* book, was only an

at *Attoughcomoco* the habitation of *Namenicus* and Wamenato, his brother,* long wee staid not ere they came aboard vs with a brasse kettle, as bright without as within, ful of boyled oisters. Strict order was given none should offend vs, so that the next day I went with the two kings a hunting, to discover what I could on their confines. *Wamanato* brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many corne-fields; and being two miles within the woods a hunting, as the younger conducted me forth, so the elder brought me home, and vsed me as kindly as he could after their manner. The next day he presented me twelve beuer skinnes| and a canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that he pro-

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abridgment or copy of some original account thereof, then before drawn up; most probably that account of *Pory's* travels, which was published in *Purchas's Pilgrims*. There appears to have been a great personal friendship between *Samuel Purchas*, the author of the "*Pilgrims*," and captain Smith, as is evident from some "*Commendatory Verses*," written by *Purchas*, and published in *Smith's History*, entitled, "*Samuel Purchas of his Friend Captaine John Smith and his Virginia*;" of which, indeed, the reader who peruses them, will much regret that the poetry was not better. *Purchas* published his "*Pilgrims*" in 1625, and *Smith* his *History of Virginia* in 1629. Hence it may be inferred, that the latter might have borrowed his account of *Pory's* travels from the former, although, without doubt, he had previously communicated to the former much general information concerning his own travels. The original account of *Pory's* travels probably contained a description of *Russel's isles* and *Onancock* and *Pawtuxunt*, which *Smith* thought "needlesse to be writt againe," in this part of his book, inasmuch as he had before described them in a former part of his work; but it does not appear that *Onancock* was ever before mentioned by him therein. It was probably the place now so called, which was lately or is now the capital town of *Accomack county*, where the county courts are held.

* There is no place of this or a similar denomination on the *Pawtuxunt* laid down by *Smith* on his map, nor have we any clew whereby even a probable location of this town may be made. As *Pory* and his party arrived first at the town called *Pawtuxunt*, it would seem that *Attoughcomoco* was higher up the river than that town, which, as we have before described it from *Smith's* map, appears to have been on the left or north side of the river *Patuxent*, in what is now *Calvert county*, and nearly opposite to a place called *Cole's Inspection-house* on the *St. Mary's* side of the river.

† This affords ample proof that those valuable animals called *beavers*, whose fur is so estimable, once existed in *Maryland* in considerable numbers, though no where therein now known. They must have abounded, at the time of *Pory's* travels, in the head waters of the *Patuxent*. Tradition has pointed out various similar places on the eastern shore also, where it is said they once existed. Our provincial records also recognise licenses to trade with the *Indians* of the province for *beaver*, as will hereinafter appear. *Smith* mentions them in his description of the animals of *Virginia*. "The beaver," says he, "is as big as an ordinary water-dog, but his legs exceeding short. His fore-feete like a dog's, his hinder feet like a swan's. His taile somewhat like the forme of a racket, bare without haire, which to eat the salvages esteeme a great delicate." Those of *Maryland*, we may suppose to have been of the same description.

SEC. VII. 1620. mised to keepe them whilst hee lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our bible, but much more to heare it was the Law of our God, and the first chapter of *Genesis* expounded of *Adam* and *Eve* and simple marriage; to which he replied, hee was like *Adam* in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once: but he, as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better understood. The next day the two kings with their people, came aboard vs, but brought nothing according to promise; so that ensigne *Saluage* challenged *Namenicus* the breach of three promises, viz: not in giving him a boy, nor corne, though they had plentie, nor *Montapass* a fugitive, called *Robert Marcum*, that had lived five yeeres amongst those northerly nations,* which he cunningly answered by excuses. *Womanato*, it seems, was guiltlesse of this falsehood, because hee staid alone when the rest were gone. I asked him if he desired to be great and rich: he answered, they were things all men aspired vnto:† which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsell, so he gaue me two tokens, which being returned by a messenger, should suffice to make him confident the messenger could not abuse vs.

“Some things being stolne from vs, he tooke such order that they were presently restored, then we interchanged presents: in all things he much admired our discretions, and gaue vs a guide that hee called brother, to conduct vs up the river: by the way we met with diuers that still tould vs of *Marcum*: and though it was in October, we found the countrie very hot, and the corne

* This *Robert Marcum* must have been one of the English settlers in Virginia, who had left them, possibly for some crime, or as a runaway servant, being a “fugitive,” and having become an inmate with the Indians on the Patuxent, who were “northerly nations” in respect to Virginia, had assumed an Indian name—*Montapass*.

† Philosophy from a savage!—Although our American Indians, when first discovered, appeared to approximate to what theoretical writers upon government call a pure *state of nature*, if such a state could exist, as nearly as any portion of mankind hitherto known, yet we here find among them a perfect idea of what is generally deemed the first stage of civilization—the utility and value of *property*. In *Womanato*’s estimation the acquisition of riches was one step to greatness, or that greatness and riches were correlative terms. Of the nature of these riches, in an Indian’s estimation at that time, somewhat may be inferred from *Smith*’s account of *Powhatan*’s treasure,—“A myle from *Orapakes*,” says he, “in a thicket of wood, he hath a house, in which he keepeth his kinde of treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beads, which he storeth up against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, bowes and arrowes, targets and clubs.”

gathered before ours at *James-town*.^{*} The next day we went to *Paccamagannant*, and they directed vs to *Assacomoco*,[†] where their king *Cassatowap* had an old quarrell with ensigne *Saluage* but, now seeming reconciled, went with vs, with another *Werowance*, towards *Mattapanient*,[‡] where they perswaded vs ashore upon the point of a thicket; but supposing it some trecherie, we returned to our boat: farre wee had not gone from the shore, but a multitude of saluages sallied out of the wood, with all the ill words and signes of hostilitie they could. When wee saw plainly their bad intent, wee set the two *Werowances* at libertie, that all this while had line in the cabbin, as not taking any notice of their villanie; because we would convert them by courtesie. Leaving them as we found them, very ciuill and subtile, wee returned the same way wee came, to the laughing king on the eastern shore,[§] who told vs plainly, *Namanicus* would have allured him into his countrie under colour of trade to cut his throat.

“This *Thomas Saluage*, it is sixteene yeares since he went to *Virginia*, being a boy, hee was left with *Powhatan*, for *Namontacke*, to learne the language,^{||} and as this author affirmeth, with much honestie and good successe, hath serued the publike without any public recompence, yet had an arrow shot through his

^{*} Although no date of the *year* is annexed to these “Observations of John Pory,” as published in Smith’s History, yet as Mr. Chalmers, in his statement of them, affixes the year 1620 thereto, and the order of inserting them in Smith’s History nearly corresponds with the same date, we must suppose, that the month of “October” above mentioned was that of the year 1620. As to the country being hot in that season, we know, that there is sometimes some very warm weather throughout Maryland in the first part of the month of October. The warmth or coldness of the climate does not correspond exactly with the sun’s declination. It is much colder in the spring of the year, (about the first of March,) than in the autumn, (about the first of October,) although the sun is at both these times nearly of the same altitude; the frosts of the preceding winter having chilled the earth and atmosphere. To gather corn in October is not usual at this day in Maryland, it not then being sufficiently hardened for keeping; but savages, being commonly improvident, might sometimes imprudently gather their corn too early; especially if they meant to sell it.

[†] Neither of these places is laid down on Smith’s map, and no designation of their scites is suggested above.

[‡] We have before supposed, that the Indian town, called *Mattapanient*, was situated in St. Mary’s county and on the Patuxent not far from its mouth.

[§] The name of this “laughing king,” (of Accomack,) “on the Easterne Shore,” is not mentioned. Why he was called the *laughing* king, is no where explained; but it was most probably from some peculiarity in his countenance and manner.

^{||} He was left with *Powhatan*, in exchange for an Indian boy named *Namontacke*, in the year 1607, when capt. Newport went to visit *Powhatan* at *Werowocomoco* on Pamunkie or York river. *Smith’s Hist.* vol. i. p. 167.

SEC. VII. body in their service.* This laughing king at *Accomack*, tells
 1620. vs the land is not two daies journey ouer in the broadest place, but in some places a man may goe in halfe a day, betwixt the baye and the maine ocean, where inhabit many people, so that by the narrownesse of the land there is not many deere, but most abundant of fish and fowle.† In February also‡ he travelled§ to the south river *Chowanock*, some sixtie miles over land, which he found to be a very fruitfull and pleasant country, yeelding two haruests in a yeere, and found much of the silke grasse formerly spoken of, was kindly vsed by the people, and so returned.”

From these “travels” of Pory, a conclusion seems to have been drawn by a learned annalist, which the account thereof, stated as above by *Smith*, does not warrant. As his inference from them seems to have an immediate bearing upon the subsequent dispute between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, which agitated both their provinces for a great length of time, it will be best to attend to the whole of what the annalist has said thereon.—“From the date of the original discovery of *Smith*,” he says, “the Virginians were too much occupied, for several years, either in procuring food or in defending themselves against the attacks of a subtle enemy, to find leisure to explore more minutely the capacious Chesapeake, so justly praised for beauty and commodiousness. John Pory, however, sailed, during the year 1620, into the great bay northward; and, though he did not penetrate to its source, he discovered, as he assures us, one hundred English happily settled, who were animated with the hope of a very good trade of furs. He adventured soon after sixty miles

* There is frequently some confusion in *Smith*’s narrations, in respect to the person whose language he delivers. In the former part of part of these “observations of Pory,” he seems to have used the language of Pory, as if spoke or written by Pory himself. But here, immediately above, he brings himself into view, and speaks of *Pory* as the “author” who “affirmeth.”

† The peninsula which constitutes the eastern shore of Virginia, is nearly of an equal breadth from the divisional line between Virginia and Maryland, of the 38th degree of latitude, to Cape Charles, and not exceeding twelve miles “in the broadest place betwixt the bay and the maine ocean.” A “daies journey,” above mentioned, in the meaning of the Indian king, must have been a journey on foot; so that twelve miles must have been an easy half day’s journey. But it is possible, that this king, when he said, that it was “not two daies journey ouer in the broadest place,” might have alluded to the breadth of the whole peninsula from the head of the Chesapeake to Cape Charles; in which case also, he would not have been very incorrect.

‡ This must have been in *February*, 1620, *old style*. (1621, N. S.)

§ Here *Smith* speaks in his own person, and means, that *Pory* “travelled,” &c.

over land, through a pleasant and fruitful country to the South river. And, on its margin, he was received with friendly entertainment by the ruling sachem of the land, who seemed extremely desirous to enter into a league of amity and commerce with the Virginians.* Thus neither the French, nor Dutch, nor Swedes, possessed then any settlements on the banks of the Delaware; because Pory must have either seen traces of their possession, or at least heard something of their renown."† It is evident from this concluding sentence of the annalist, that he erroneously understood "the *South river Chowanock*," to which Pory travelled in February, 1620-1, as Smith states to have been the same as the modern *Delaware* river, to which the Dutch, soon after their settlement at Manhattan, gave the name of *South* river in contradistinction to the Hudson, which they called the *North* river. He seems to have been uninformed, or to have not recollected, that there was a river in North Carolina, formerly called the *Chowanock* river, but more modernly the *Chowan*, on which the Indian nation, called the *Chowanocks*, formerly lived.‡ To their town it was, that Smith sent the messengers, as before stated, to search for the colonists under *White*. "*Southwards*," says he, "we went to some parts of *Chowanock* and the *Mongoags* to search for them left by Mr. *White*." So in another place he speaks of the *Chisapeacks* and *Nandsamunds* as living on "the *Southerne* shore:"§ meaning south of James river. From hence it would appear to have been very natural for an inhabitant of Virginia on the James river, in speaking of the *Chowan* river, to call it "the *South* river," it being in truth the most considerable river immediately *south* of the James river. The distance—"sixtie miles over land,"—corroborates this supposition; for, from James-town, in a strait line "over land," to the point or neck of land formed by the confluence of the rivers Nottoway and Meherrin with the Chowan, and where, as it would seem, the great town of the Chowanocks was situated, it measures, by Maddison's map, fifty miles at least, and we may suppose by the windings of an Indian path much more. It is thus then apparent, that our learned annalist has accidentally committed an error

* The annalist here makes a reference to "Purchas's Pilgrims, 4 v. p. 1784-7.

† Chalmers's Annals, p. 206.

‡ In Smith's small map or sketch of what he calls "Ould Virginia," that is, of the country round about *Roanoke* island, he has laid down the river, on which Edenton now stands, as "*Chowanock fluv.*" Chowanock river.

§ Smith's Hist. vol. i. p. 190.

SEC. VII. here, in supposing that the river Chowanock, to which Pory
 1620. travelled in February, 1620-1, was the Delaware river, called by the Dutch, the South river; and consequently, that his inference therefrom, to wit, that "neither the French, nor the Dutch, nor Swedes, possessed then any settlements on the banks of the Delaware," though certainly true in fact, was, however, erroneously drawn.* But the most important error, into which his statement is calculated to lead the reader, is, that the "one hundred English happily settled," said to be discovered by him, "when he sailed into the great bay *northward*," must have been so settled in the country now called Maryland. This, however, is easily accounted for, without such supposition, when we recur to Smith's preceding statement of Pory's travels. That "he sailed into the great bay *northward*, though not to its source," is entirely verified by his voyage to the Patuxent, and the "muster," which he took "of the companies tenants," at Accomack, (Cheriton,) together with the "ten men," with whom he was "provided to plant the secretaries land on the easterne shore," amounts to very strong proof, that the "one hundred English happily settled," were those so settled on the company's and secretary's lands on the eastern shore of Virginia. That these "tenants" and settlers there should have been "animated with the hope of a very good trade of furs," is indeed a circumstance not so easily to be reconciled at this day, when not only the numerous tribes of Indians, who once inhabited all along the eastern shore or coast of the Chesapeake, but also the animals that once abounded in this country and afforded this "trade of furs," have been all entirely extirpated. There is evidence, however, from both history and tradition, to shew, that the country now composing the lower counties of the eastern shore of Maryland, adjacent to the eastern shore of Virginia, particularly on the rivers of those counties, the Nanticoke, (or Cuscarawaocks,) the Wighcomoco, and the Pocomoke, abounded in all these animals, which could support a trade in peltry. This receives considerable corroboration from what Smith states on the Cuscarawaock, when he first visited them. "Here doth inhabite," says he, "the people of Saripinagh, Nause, Arseek, and Nantaquak the

† * The first *Dutch* settlement on the Delaware, as appears from Proud's Hist. of Penn. vol. i. p. 110, was at or near *Glocester*, in New Jersey, in the year 1623, and the first *Swedish* settlement on that river appears to have been at the mouth of Christiana creek, in the year 1631. This last is to be inferred from a small *Swedish* History of "New Sweedland," purporting to have been written by Thomas C. Holm, late of New Sweedland, and published in Stockholm in 1702;" a translation of which has been lately republished in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, vol. ii. p. 355.

best merchants of all other salvages;”—and in another place, where he speaks “of the natural inhabitants of Virginia,” meaning the Indians thereof, he says,—“Their manner of *trading* is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as skinnés, foule, fish, flesh, and their country corne.” In these articles, particularly skins, the Indians inhabiting on the Pocomoke and other rivers just mentioned, might with great probability, have been diligent traders with the first English settlers on the eastern shore of Virginia. From all which it results, that the “travels of Pory,” in no respect whatever, warrants the supposition, that any Englishmen whatever were then, in the year 1620–1, settled in any part of that territory or country, for which Lord Baltimore, in the year 1632, obtained his grant or patent.

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The foregoing extracts appear to comprise every thing in Smith's History of Virginia, that has any material relation to his discoveries of those parts of the Bay of Chesapeake, which now form the State of Maryland. Smith being the first discoverer of those upper parts of this Bay, and his narrations concerning those discoveries being deemed the best and indeed the only authentic source of what is said by other writers thereon since, there scarcely needs an apology to the reader for their insertion herein. The mode, we have adopted, of giving the original text with comments thereon, has been occasioned by the numerous mistakes, which our own, as well as other writers, upon the early part of the history of Virginia, have fallen into. The style of Smith's writings being now obsolete, and much liable to misconstruction, it is deemed to be more candid to give the reader an opportunity of forming his own judgment by a perusal of the original text itself; especially as the insertion thereof occupies but a very little more space, than would a full and comprehensive narration thereof with the necessary remarks thereon.

A few general remarks on the character and writings of this celebrated founder of the colony of Virginia, as introductory to a few further comments on one or two passages in his foregoing summary account of Virginia, not before noticed, may be here indulged. It cannot but occur to every reader, who will take the pains to peruse carefully the whole of Smith's General History of Virginia, including his own private adventures in his early life, that he must have been naturally endowed with most uncommonly vigorous powers both of body and of mind. The hardships, which he appears to have gone through, from his first

SEC. VII. departure from England while a mere youth, and during his
1620. captivity by the 'Turks, to an advanced period of his life in the conclusion of his discoveries in New England, without any apparent interruption to his health, clearly indicate the athletic powers of his person; while at the same time the correct judgment, which he has displayed, in his conduct on various difficult and trying occasions, and in his remarks on both men and affairs, together with the uncommon talents he has exhibited, not only in the compilation of his writings, but more particularly in the formation of his map of the Chesapeake with the adjacent country, which accompanies his work, and all this too with but a very slender education, as he must necessarily have had, from his early roving disposition, demonstrate that the vigour of his mind was coequal with that of his body, and that he was thus by nature endowed with almost superhuman qualities for the most arduous undertakings. But it often happens, that in a portrait of the most excellent character we discover a blot or speck, which we could wish to obliterate. A consciousness of such superior endowments, as those which Smith possessed, naturally begat in him, not only a superciliousness towards the opinions of others, but also occasional ebullitions in his writings indicative of his liability to the sensation of *vanity*—the too common infirmity of great men. For this, however, let him make his own apology.—“I know,” says he, “I shall bee taxed for writing so much of myselfe, but I care not much, because the judiciall know there are few such souldiers as are my examples, have writ their owne actions, nor know I who will or can tell my intents better than myselfe.”*—To this may be added in his behalf, that when he wrote his history, his mind smarted with the ingratitude of the Virginia Company towards him.—“In neither of those two countries,” says he, meaning New England and Virginia, “have I one foot of land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor ever any content or satisfaction at all.”†—Such appeals to the world, when made by such men, are peculiarly interesting.

But partial as we may be to the character of this truly great man, there is another characteristic trait discernible in his writings, which demands some little notice, inasmuch as it seems to be necessary to be taken into consideration by every reader on a

* Smith's Hist. Vol. ii. p. 92.

† Ibid. p. 102.

perusal of his history. He certainly had no small propensity, in his several narrations, not only of his own private adventures, but of his discoveries of new countries, to surprise his readers with something *marvellous*. An example of this, though it is apparently a trivial circumstance, occurs in his account of his extraordinary stature of one of the *Susquehanoek* Indians; herein just before stated;—"the calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about."—Now, supposing the calf of the leg of a man of ordinary height, say of five feet ten inches, and of a proportional personal form, measures sixteen inches round, this Indian, the calf of whose leg was three quarters of a yard or twenty-seven inches about, would have been, "with the rest of his limbs answerable to that proportion," about nine feet ten inches in height. But as this little circumstance, though extraordinary, is not beyond the bounds of *possibility*, or indeed of *probability* as an *individual* instance, we ought not to condemn Smith too hastily. It is possible, that one race of men may be taller and stouter in their form than another, as it is in families of Europeans, and upon the same principle might be so in a whole tribe of Indians. So, the Indians, on the Nanticoke and Wighcomoco might have been generally of less stature than ordinary, as stated by Smith, and the *Susquehanocks* much larger. So, in our recent accounts of the *Osages* near the Missouri, they are represented as a people of "uncommon stature and undoubtedly somewhat above the common size of men." This is very judiciously attributed by the writer, "to their living plentifully in a very healthy country, the constant exercise of hunting, the frequent removal of their camps, and from being cleanly in their persons, and making free use of the bath."*—These causes, or some of them might have operated in rendering the *Susquehanocks* of more than ordinary size. On a like principle it may be remarked, that it is probable, that the unhealthiness of the country adjacent to the rivers Nanticoke and Wighcomoco might have diminished the stature of the Indians thereon, agreeably to Smith's statement. The same principle may be applied to the *Patagonian* Indians of South America, of whose extraordinary stature, however, contradictory accounts have been handed down to us. In the account of the voyage of their first discoverer Fer-

* See "Notes on the Missouri river, &c. by a Military Gentleman," in the *Analectic Magazine* for 1820.

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* See this and some of the subsequent voyages above mentioned in Harris’s *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 1, p. 7.

ten or twelve leagues into the straits of Magellen from the Atlantic Ocean, before we saw several people upon the north shore, (the continent,) and with the help of our glasses could perceive them beckoning to us to come on shore, and at the same time we observed to each other, that they seemed of an extraordinary size.”—After stating the incidents accompanying their going on shore, Mr. Clarke proceeds:—“We were with them near two hours at noon-day, within a very few yards, though none had the honor of shaking hands with them but Mr. Byron and Mr. Cummings;” (the commodore and his first lieutenant;) “however, we were near enough and long enough with them to convince our senses so far as not to be cavilled out of the very existence of these senses at that time, which some of our countrymen and friends would absolutely attempt to do. They are of a copper colour, with long black hair, and some of them are certainly *nine feet*, if they do not exceed it. The commodore, who is very near six foot, could but just reach the top of one of their heads, which he attempted, on tip-toes, and there were several taller than him on whom the experiment was tried. They are prodigious stout, and as well and proportionally made as ever I saw people in my life. The women, I think, bear much the same proportion to the men as our Europeans do; there was hardly a man there less than eight feet, most of them considerably more; the women, I believe, run from seven and a half to eight.”*—In captain Wallis’s voyage, which was immediately after commodore Byron’s, their stature seems to be rather lowered to the common standard; and in captain Cook’s first voyage, the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who were probably the same people as the Patagonians, are expressly stated as being “men, who were large but clumsily built, their stature was from five feet eight to five feet ten.”—The truth of the subject seems to be reduced to this:—that every species of mankind, for there are undoubtedly different species of mankind, as well as there are different *species* and *genera* of other animals,) have one ordinary height peculiar to that species, but from which some anomalous prodigies will occasionally vary. The American *Indians* generally, among whom we may include the Patagons, have been deemed much taller in their stature than any other species of mankind yet known. That there have been individual men of ten feet in height among Europeans also, has been asserted by many credible writers and

* Annual Register for 1768, p. 68.

SEC. VII. philosophers, though considered by them, as just mentioned, as anomalous prodigies or *ludibria naturæ*. Thus then, it would seem, that the illustrious founder of Virginia—Smith, has not exceeded the bounds of *possibility*, although his Susquehanock Indian should have been ten feet high.

The important fact, stated by Smith, in the conclusion of the preceding extract from his General History of Virginia, deserves also a more particular consideration. The “sundry languages” spoken by the “many severall nations,” who in his time occupied the country, which now composes the States of Virginia and Maryland, so far as they border on the Chesapeake, form a subject well worth the attention of every philosophic philologist. This diversity of languages among nations or tribes of people of such small population and contiguous neighbourhood to each other, as these Indians herein enumerated by Smith, seems to be accountable for, only as a natural consequence of the retirement and solitude, in which savages, especially those of America, thinly scattered over the earth, delight to dwell. A man and his wife, seated in some obscure spot of the country, would in process of time generate a family; which again, in two or three generations more, would enlarge into a tribe. Unwilling to intermix with other tribes, lest their own peace and quiet, together with the little local possessions, which they had carved out to themselves in their forests, should be interrupted, they discourage all unnecessary communication with other neighbouring tribes. A peculiar language, or a dialect of a language, among such one tribe is then the natural result. Reserved and unsocial with their neighbours, they become prone to resent the slightest injury with war. The frequency of wars among them again contributes to the preservation of their own present language or dialect. It is only from some such causes, that we can trace this peculiarity among savages; which seems to have been prevalent not only with those of America, but at this day in Africa also. The unfortunate Mungo Parke was stopped in his passage through several small tribes or nations of Negroes, until he either learned their language or procured an interpreter; when he was enabled to pass on to others. Thus it was with Smith in his exploration of the Chesapeake. The “many severall nations of sundry languages, that environed Powhatan’s territories,” as just mentioned by him, ten in number, were all, excepting the Massawomecks or Iroquois, seated on the shores

of the Chesapeake, or not far distant therefrom, and in that space of the country now comprised within the State of Maryland and within that part of the State of Virginia lying east of the Allegany mountains; the local limits of the whole of which country we should suppose to be too narrow at this day, to preserve for any length of time among civilized people ten different languages in their original purity.

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Although the peculiar features of the countenance, colour of the skin, texture and colour of the hair, and the exterior form and contour of the whole human figure, obviously bespeak the *Indian* race of people on the continent of America, both north and south, to have been a distinct *species* of mankind, different from the rest of the human creation, yet curiosity or the love of knowledge will always prompt our endeavours to pursue our inquiries still further, with a view of tracing the origin, migrations, and places of residence, of the several *varieties* or tribes of this same *species*. In doing this, no circumstance aids us more effectually than an attention to and an investigation of their several languages or the different dialects thereof. Philosophical philologists also may very properly amuse themselves with disquisitions on these several languages of our aborigines, with a view to advance the science of universal grammar and the structure of language in general. Views of this sort seem to have lately actuated the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; who have by their influence called forth an interesting "Historical account of the Indian nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring states, by the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem," published in 1819. This gentleman having been for many years a missionary and resident among the Indians in Pennsylvania and on the Ohio, and having acquired a perfect knowledge of their language, his "Historical account" possesses an authenticity, which demands considerable attention. But, on a perusal of his work, the reader cannot but be struck with the unaccountable circumstance, that in no part thereof has he taken the least notice of Smith's account of the Indians just herein before enumerated by him, although many of these Indians belonged to particular tribes of the great nation, which he calls *Lenni Lenape*, or Delaware, whom he represents as covering all that part of the sea-coast from the tide-waters of the Potowmack to the Hudson of New-York. He must, or ought to have known, that Smith's History of Virgi-

SEC. VII. *nia*, he being one of the first settlers thereof, has always held, with regard to the aborigines of our country, paramount authority over all other histories ; for a very obvious reason, that therein alone we see these aborigines in their primeval state. The time of Mr. Heckewelder's knowledge of them being of modern date, necessarily makes his view of them, though still highly interesting, yet far inferior in interest to that of Smith ; their manners and customs having undergone innumerable alterations by their intercourse with Europeans from the time of Smith to that of Mr. Heckewelder, a period of near a century and a half. Even in the many passages in Mr. Heckewelder's book, where he speaks of the Nanticokes as a tribe of the Lenape, he takes no notice of what Smith has said of them, as to their state and condition when the latter first discovered them on the banks of the Cuscarawaock. There is, indeed, strong presumption, from the great extent of the Lenape language, together with the tradition of that nation, that their territories might formerly have extended from the tide-water of the Hudson, near Albany, to those of the Patowmack and Patuxent ; and, if the Nanticokes were once a tribe of the Lenape, and their language a dialect of the language of that nation, the Lenape territories might also have comprehended all the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the several tribes thereof. There is a circumstance mentioned in Smith's History of Virginia, which seems to corroborate the latter part of the preceding supposition. It is therein stated, that the part of the peninsula of the Eastern Shore, which was then deemed, and is still as, a part of Virginia, formed also a part of Powhatan's territories ; and that the Accomacks and Accohanoeks, the two tribes, who occupied the present counties of Northampton and Accomack, were of the Powhatan nation and spoke that language. But, as Smith did not explore any part of the present territories of Maryland on the Eastern Shore, immediately adjacent to the division-line between Virginia and Maryland, nearer than the Cuscarawaock, which we have herein before endeavoured to prove to have been the Nanticoke, we are uninformed, how far Powhatan's territories on the Eastern Shore extended northward, or whether they comprehended any of the Indians north of the before mentioned division-line. A small Indian town, or a remnant of a tribe of Indians, who dwelt at or near *Chingoteague*, on the sea-coast, near where the before mentioned division-line strikes the ocean, is mentioned by *Beverly*,

in his History of Virginia, first published in 1705, as then existing, of whom he says,—“The few remains of this town are joined with a nation of Maryland Indians.”*—But, of the language of these Indians of Chingoteague, or of the other Indians of Accomack and Northampton, mentioned by Beverly, in 1705, he has not informed us. The latter, without doubt, continued to speak the Powhatan language, as in Smith’s time, and it seems to be equally certain, that the Nanticokes did not speak the Powhatan language. From all which it may be inferred, that some line of division between the Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, existed prior to that drawn by the Europeans afterwards, and that this circumstance, of a body of *Powhatan* Indians being settled on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake, prior to the first arrival of the Virginia colonists in 1607, was the primary cause of planting settlements there so early as Pory’s excursions in 1620, if not before. If then all the tribes of Indians on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake, north of the Powhatans in Accomack and Northampton, were of the Lenape stock, as implied by Mr. Heckewelder’s “Historical Account,” we must suppose, that their languages were dialects of that of the Lenape, and consequently that the language of the Nanticokes, confessedly the most numerous and powerful tribe on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, was also a dialect of that language. The words of Mr. Heckewelder are,—“As far as we are able to judge from the little knowledge that has been transmitted to us of the languages of the Indians, who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, they all appear to have belonged to the same stock; the Nanticokes have been shewn to have been intimately connected with the Lenape,† and among those, who called them *grand-father*. Two pretty copious vocabularies of their language, in the possession of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, one of them communicated by Mr. Jefferson and the other by myself, prove it beyond a doubt to have been a dialect of the Lenape.”—To this Mr. Heckewelder subjoins a note of considerable importance, as follows :—“The late Dr. Barton, in the work above quoted,” (to wit, Barton’s *New Views*, appen. p. 5, edit. 1798,) “seems to doubt this fact, and relies on a series of

* Beverly’s Hist. Virg. (edit. of 1722,) p. 199.—*Oldmixon*, in his *Brit. Emp. Amer.* vol. 1, p. 281, copies Beverly herein.

† In a former part of his work, which will be herein presently stated.

SEC. VII. numerals, which I once communicated to him, and was found among the papers of the late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus. But it is by no means certain, that these numerals were taken from the language of the Nanticokes, and the vocabularies above mentioned leave no doubt as to the origin of that dialect."

Although it is possible, as has been just before admitted, that the Nanticokes were originally connected with the Lenape, and their language might possibly have been a dialect of that of the Lenape, yet the first position advanced by Mr. Heckewelder, as just above, to wit: that *all* the different nations or tribes of "Indians, who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, appear to have belonged to the same stock"—seems to have been much too large for any proof he has produced in support of it. If the languages of two nations so radically vary from each other, as to require interpreters in the communications of the two nations with each other, it raises so strong a presumption, that their common origin, if it ever happened, must have been very remote, as to require some strong contrary facts to rebut that presumption. It is possible, indeed, that interpreters may be necessary in cases where the languages only vary in dialect, and this might have been the case in regard to the Susquehanocks, the Tockwocks, the Nanticokes, and the Lenape. But, the variance between the languages of the Lenape and the Powhatans is so obvious and observable, the latter of which was that of all the Indians on both the western and eastern shores of Virginia, together with that part of Maryland lying between the Patowmack and the Patuxent rivers, that Mr. Heckewelder's first position, as just stated, must be admitted with much doubt and hesitation. Strong evidence to the contrary arises from a comparison to be made at this day between the vocabulary of the Powhatan language as preserved by Smith, and that of the Lenape as given by others. In the *numeral* words of the first, there is scarcely a syllable that indicates the same sound as in those of the latter.* From which it

* The following lists of numeral words in the Powhatan and Delaware (or Lenape) languages are taken from two different authors, but *both Englishmen*; the authenticity of the first of whom (Smith, the founder of Virginia,) cannot be questioned, in whose history is found a small vocabulary of the Powhatan language, from whence the list below of *numeral* words in that language is taken. The second list, to wit, that of the Delaware (or Lenape) language, is taken from a very old History of West New Jersey, published with that of Pennsylvania, by *Gabriel Thomas*, in the year 1698. He was, as he therein states, one of the first settlers in Pennsylvania, arrived there in the first ship which Penn

results, that so far as variance in language constitutes a pre-SEC. VII.sumption of variety in their origin, the Powhatans and the Lenape, if ever they "have belonged to the same stock," must have been so in some very remote time long past. It is true, that there are indelible marks in the exterior figure and colour of the North American Indians, which demonstrate them to be a peculiar *species* of mankind, and that there is a greater sameness in those exterior appearances than in any other species of mankind known in any of the other quarters of the globe, (probably because they have been less contaminated with mixtures of other species,) yet, supposing all these North American Indians to have had originally one common parentage here in America, this common origin, or "stock," must have been in ages so remote as long since to have admitted a total and radical variance in many of their languages. Such we may suppose to have been the case between the Powhatans and the Lenape.

sent for the settlement of that province in the year 1681, and resided in Pennsylvania about fifteen years.

POWHATAN NUMERALS, (According to Smith.)	DELAWARE (OR LENAPE) NUMERALS, (According to Thomas.)
1. Necut - - - - -	1. Kooty
2. Ningh - - - - -	2. Nisha
3. Nuss - - - - -	3. Nacha
4. Yowgh - - - - -	4. Neo
5. Paranske - - - - -	5. Pelenach
6. Comotinck - - - - -	6. Kootash
7. Toppawoss - - - - -	7. Nishash
8. Nusswash - - - - -	8. Choesh
9. Kekatawgh - - - - -	9. Peshonk
10. Kaskeke - - - - -	10. Telen

It will be found upon a comparison of the above list of Delaware numerals by Thomas with the German (or Zeisberger's) list of the same, as published in Duponceau's correspondence with Heckewelder, that they are as nearly similar to each other as the idioms of the German and English languages would allow; always supposing that a German or a Frenchman would write down the same sound with letters somewhat variant from those which an Englishman would use. So also of the Swedish vocabulary of Delaware numerals stated also in the same correspondence. Other words and expressions indicate a radical difference between the Powhatan and Lenape languages. Mr. Heckewelder states, in the above mentioned correspondence, that "the word *Mannitto* for God, or the Great Spirit, is common to all the nations and tribes of the Lenape stock." But no such term is mentioned by Smith (who was much conversant with the Powhatans,) as designating their idea of God. "Their chiefe God," he says, "they worship, is the devill; him they call *Okee*, and serue him more of feare than loue." "Their other Gods they call *Quiyoughcosughes*." This variance, as well as many others, too numerous here to detail, seems to indicate a more remote common origin than Mr. Heckewelder seems to suppose when he states the Powhatans "to have belonged to the same stock," as the Lenape.

SEC. VII. As to the extent of the Lenape territories on the western shore of Maryland being bounded by the tide-waters of the Patowmack, as stated by Mr. Heckewelder, this receives some confirmation from a circumstance mentioned in *Pory's* travels, as herein before stated. When Pory went, in 1620, to settle the secretary's lands on the eastern shore of Virginia, he there met with *Namenacus*, king of a large tribe on the Patuxent river in Maryland, called *Powtuxants*, herein before mentioned. He (*Namenacus*) had come to the eastern shore of Virginia, in order to meet with one Thomas Salvage, an Englishman, who, when a boy, having been presented to the emperor Powhatan in exchange for Nomentacke, an Indian boy, had long lived with the Powhatans, and having completely learned their language, was in the habit of occasionally acting as an interpreter between the Indians and the English. Meeting with Pory and Salvage at Accomack, *Namenacus* invited them to visit him at *Pawtuxunt*. Pory accordingly went, and was attended by Salvage, who acted on all necessary occasions as an interpreter. If then the Indian language, which this interpreter had learned when a boy with the Indians, was the Powhatan language, as we must necessarily suppose it to have been from his learning it with and under the emperor Powhatan, it seems to follow, that the several tribes of Indians on the Patuxent, with whose language Salvage the interpreter seems to have been familiar, spoke the Powhatan language, and might therefore be considered as among the confederate tribes, who belonged to Powhatan's empire. This corresponds with what is stated by Mr. Jefferson and other writers, that Powhatan's territories extended along the Chesapeake from James river to the Patuxent, and, as we may suppose, to the head of the *tide-waters* thereof, as also in like manner on the Patowmack, that is, to where the Lenape territories, according to Heckewelder, ended. This receives additional confirmation from what Smith states in one of his excursions to explore the Chesapeake,—that the western coast thereof, from the Patuxent to the head of the bay appeared to him to be uninhabited, or that he saw no inhabitants there, although in his ascent and descent of the bay he kept close to the western shore thereof, and went up the *Bolus* on Patapsco river a considerable distance. The early part of our History of Maryland also recognises the fact, that the Indians of the peninsula lying between the Patowmack and the Patuxent were grievously harassed by

the Susquehanocks, just previous to or about the time of the SEC. VII. first settlement of the Maryland colony in 1634. We cannot suppose, however, that the whole of the western shore of Maryland, from the Patuxent to the Susquehanah, was uninhabited, at least to any great extent, into the back country, although Smith saw no Indians there: but it is possible, that the frequent excursions of the Susquehanocks against the Powhatans on the Patuxent and Patowmack might have driven away from the coast of the western shore of the Chesapeake any tribes, who would have wished to have remained there neutral or in peace, and that therefore none appeared to Smith on that coast. It is certain, that the Susquehanocks some how acquired a right to the greater part of both the western and eastern shores of Maryland, to wit: on the former from the Susquehanah river to the Patuxent, and on the latter from the same to the Choptank; for, by a treaty made between them and the government of Maryland, in the year 1654, they ceded to the latter all those parts of Maryland on both shores, as just described; as will herein after more particularly appear in its proper place.* This brings us then to an inquiry, whether the Susquehanocks also, as well as the Nanticokes, were a tribe, that is, a branch of the great "stock" of the nation called Lenape.

Although the Susquehanocks were certainly a tribe of Indians inhabiting within the province of Pennsylvania, yet I cannot find that Mr. Heckewelder has any where mentioned them as a distinct tribe, even as subordinate to his great nation—the Lenape. In like manner he has passed over in silence the other tribes of Indians mentioned by Smith as dwelling near the head of the Chesapeake, to wit, the Atquinachuks, who dwelt on the Delaware, in what is now New-Castle county in the Delaware state; the Tockwocks on the Sassafras river in Maryland, and the Ozinies on the Chester. These several tribes, under the

* The author has, in a previous publication of the introduction to this history, inserted a supposition that the western shore of Maryland was occupied prior to the arrival of the first Maryland colony, by a tribe or nation called the Shawanese. To this supposition he was led, by perceiving on Kitchen's map of the British colonies, published shortly after the treaty of 1763, that the Sawanoos (commonly called Shawanese,) had formerly a town situated on the Patowmack at or near to a place called *Old Town* in Allegany county, in Maryland. But the treaty of cession by the Susquehanocks to the Maryland colonists in 1654, together with the history of the *Sawanoos*, as stated by Heckewelder, seem to render it doubtful whether the Sawanoos ever occupied any part of Maryland lower down from the Allegany mountains, then Allegany county.

SEC. VII. wide extent, which he gives to the Lenape nation, must have been subordinate to the Lenape, whom they called their *grand-father*. But there is a circumstance stated by Smith, relative to some of these last mentioned tribes, particularly the Susquehannocks and the Tockwocks, which seems to militate against a supposition, that they were either subordinate to or under the government and control of the Lenape of Pennsylvania. Heckewelder states, that the Mengwe, who appear to have been the same as the Iroquois of the French, and the Massawomeks of Smith, long before any Europeans arrived in the country, had by *stratagem* "made women" of the Lenape. Although this seems to have been merely an excuse made by the Lenape for their want of prowess, in permitting the Mengwe to conquer them by *force*, as the latter allege they did,* or that the Lenape told Mr. Heckewelder this story, thinking thereby to flatter him with their approbation of the passive and non-resisting principles of the United Brethren, it being a very improbable story, that many thousand warriors of the Lenape should have been so tricked out of the natural principle of self-defence, yet it is evident, from Smith's History, that neither the Susquehannocks nor the Tockwocks were of these passive obedient principles. The description, herein before quoted from Smith, of his giant-like Susquehannock, whom he met with at the head of the bay, proclaimed him a warrior from top to toe, with his bow and arrows in one hand and his war-club in the other. Be assured, that this hero of the forest had no idea of non-resistance, if attacked either in his person or rights. Immediately prior to the first settlement of St. Mary's, the Susquehannocks had also been *waging war* upon the Indians of that part of Maryland. They did not, therefore, like the Lenape, consider themselves as *women* unfit for *war*. It is also mentioned by Smith, that these Mengwe or Massawomeks, when he met with them in the bay, shewed him their "greene wounds," which they had just received in a battle with the *Tockwhoghes*. The Tockwhoghes also, it seems too from

* In the treaty held at Philadelphia, in July, 1742, with the chiefs of the Six Nations, (these Mengwe,) together with the Delawares, (or Lenape) and other Indians, Canassatego, a chief of the Six Nations, on a complaint made by the governor of Pennsylvania to them against the Delawares, in a speech addressed to the latter, thus reproved them.—"How came you to take upon you to sell land at all? *We conquered you* ; we made women of you ; you know you are women ; and can no more sell land than women ; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling land, since you would abuse it." See Colden's Hist. of the Five Nations, 2d part, p. 79.

thence, had no ideas of the principles of passive obedience and SEC. VII. non-resistance. Thus then the Mengwe had certainly never "made women" of either the Susquehanocks or the Tockwhoghes. It is possible, however, that the Susquehanocks, as they resided on the Susquehanah river within the present limits of Pennsylvania, and within what is supposed to have been the Lenape territories, might have been originally of the same "stock" as the Lenape; but it would seem, from the foregoing circumstance, that they were independent of and insubordinate to the government of the Lenape.

Although Mr. Heckewelder has thus passed over without notice, the Susquehanocks, the Tockwhoghes, and the Atquanachuks, notwithstanding the scites of their towns were clearly within the limits of his extensive Lenape territories, yet he has happily favored us with a more minute historical account of the *Nanticokes* of Maryland, than has ever yet before appeared in print. This traditional account of them, which, as he says, he had from one of their own chiefs, being highly interesting to many Maryland readers, will be best presented to them in his own words.

"The Delawares say that this nation, (the Nanticokes,) has sprung from the same stock with them, and the fact was acknowledged by White, one of their chiefs, whom I have personally known. They call the Delawares their grandfathers. I shall relate the history of the Nanticokes, as I had it from the mouth of White himself.

"Every Indian being at liberty to pursue what occupation he pleases, White's ancestors, after the Lenape came into their country,* preferred seeking a livelihood by fishing and trapping

* The careless mode, in which Heckewelder has here used the relative pronoun—"their"—creates an ambiguity in the meaning of the above sentence. It might be construed to mean the "country" of either "White's ancestors" or that of "the Lenape," or, the "country" of both. Supposing it to be the language of White, it might mean "the country" of his ancestors;" but this would imply, that the country then enjoyed by the Lenape, particularly Pennsylvania, was originally that of the Nanticokes, prior to the occupation of it by the Lenape; which would seem to be repugnant to the supposition, that the Nanticokes were originally of the same "stock" as the Lenape, that is, that they were a *branch* of the Lenape stock.—Again, it might be construed to mean the "country" of the Lenape; which would be agreeable to the grammatical rule, that a relative personal pronoun always has relation to the next *antecedent* person spoken of. The fact, however, subsequently stated in the latter branch of the sentence,—that the Nanticokes "detached themselves" from the Lenape, seems to make the more probable meaning of the whole sentence to be, that the Nanticokes were formerly a constituent part of the whole Lenape nation, when that nation first

SEC. VII. along the rivers and bays to pursuing wild game in the forest; they therefore detached themselves, and sought the most convenient places for their purpose.* In process of time, they became very numerous, partly by natural increase, and partly in consequence of being joined by a number of the Lenape, and spread themselves over a large tract of country.† Thus they became divided into separate bodies, distinguished by different names; the Canai, they say, sprung from them, and settled at a distance on the shores of the Potowmack and Susquehanah, where they lived when the white people first arrived in Virginia; but they removed farther on their account,‡ and settled higher up the

arrived in Pennsylvania, the "country," most probably, above alluded to; the "country" of both; the Nanticokes being then one and the same as the Lenape nation; after which a part of these Lenape, "preferring to seek a livelihood by fishing," &c. "detached themselves" from the rest of the Lenape nation, and took the name of Nanticokes.

* This seems to intimate one of the causes for their settling on the Nanticoke; a river formerly abounding, not only in fish, but in those animals, which delight in the morasses and marshes adjacent to rivers, and whose skins furnish the best of furs; particularly beavers and otters. Hence Smith found them, as he states, the best *traders* he had met with, that is, in peltry, and hence they were subsequently called *trappers*.

† The "tract of country," which they occupied when they were first visited by Smith in 1608, could not have been very "large," when considered as the hunting-grounds of so large a tribe, unless we suppose, that the Cuscarawaoeks, the Sarapinaghs, the Nanses, and the Nantiquaks, stated by Smith as dwelling on the Cuscarawaoek river, when he saw them, were all of the Nanticoke tribe or nation; and this circumstance—the extensiveness of their "tract of country," above mentioned, corroborates the opinion, herein before mentioned, that the Cuscarawaoeks and those other tribes just mentioned, were all one and the same people as those now denominated Nanticokes, inhabiting in different towns on the Cuscarawaoek now the Nanticoke river. They must have occupied all the borders of that river on both sides, in Somerset as well as in Dorchester counties, from the head thereof, which is now within the Delaware state, to its mouth or junction with the Chesapeake. The *Nanticokes* are the only numerous and warlike nation of Indians recognized by our earliest records of Maryland as inhabiting in that part of the eastern shore, and under that name alone we now see them also here recognized and known in their traditional history by Heckewelder.

‡ The white people, it is well known, first arrived in *Virginia* in the year 1607; but, as they first settled on the James river, they certainly did not cause the removal of any Indians from the Patowmack, until long after the arrival of the Maryland colony there. It is moreover inconsistent with the intercourse had between the Virginians and the Indians on the Patowmack, as recognized in Smith's History of Virginia, until near the period of the arrival of the Maryland colonists. The Canai, or as they are more often called Conoys, if they ever inhabited on the shores of the Patowmack, must have had their dwelling place very high up that river, above "the tide-water" thereof, to which, Heckewelder says in another place, the Lenape territories once extended. It would seem therefore, that the Conoys could not have removed "on account of the

Susquehanah,* not far from where John Harris afterwards established a ferry.† The main branch, or the Nanticokes proper, were then living in what is now called the eastern shore of Maryland.‡ At length, the white people crowded so much upon them, that they were also obliged to seek another abode, and as their grandfather was himself, retreating back in consequence of the great influx of the whites,§ they took the advice of the Mengwe,|| and bent their course at once to the large flats at Wyoming,¶ where they settled by themselves, in sight of the Shawanos town, while others settled higher up the river, even

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arrival of the white people," until long after the settlement of Maryland, perhaps not until the eighteenth century, when the Virginians and Marylanders might have begun to press upon them.

* Mr. Heckewelder says in another place, (Historical Account, &c. p. 26.)—"The Canai I call by their proper name. I allude here to those people we call Canais, Conois, Conoys, Canaways, Kanhawas, Canawese."—Again, (in p. 108.) "The Canai or Kanhawas, who have given their name to a river in Virginia which empties itself into the Ohio, are known to have been of the same stock," to wit, of the Lenape. From this it might be inferred, that the removal of the Conoys or Kanhawas from the Patowmack, "on account of the white people there," was in a retrograde direction across the Allegany mountains, where they naturally fell in with one of the two rivers, which from them took the name of the Kanhawa, probably the Little Kanhawa. A part of them, however, might have settled on the Susquehanah, as above stated; a fact, that seems to be corroborated by the record of the treaty held at Philadelphia, in July 1742, with some chiefs of the Six Nations, Showanese, and Delawares; at which treaty also are stated to have been present four chiefs, (therein named,) of the "Canoyias or Nanticokes, of Canestogo," that is, of Conostogo creek near Lancaster in Pennsylvania.—See the Treaty in Colden's Hist. part 2d, p. 58.

† In Evans's map of the "Middle Colonies," Harris's ferry is laid down, precisely on the same spot as that where the town called *Harrisburg*, the capital of Pennsylvania, now stands.

‡ As the words—"then living,"—appear to refer to the time "when the white people first arrived in Virginia," this corresponds with Smith's account of the *Nantiquaks* settled on the Cuscarawaoek, at the time of his discovery of them in the year 1608, the year after the first arrival of the white people in Virginia.

§ This seems to refer the necessity of the Nanticokes "to seek another abode," to about the middle of the eighteenth century; when the influx of the colonists into Pennsylvania began to cause the Delawares or Lenape, the "grandfather" of the Nanticokes, to retreat back into the interior parts of the Province.

|| Why they should have taken the advice of the Mengwe, (or Six Nations,) instead of their *grandfather* the Lenape, (or Delawares,) is to be accounted for only by the fact, that, at the time of the first migration of the Nanticokes from Maryland, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the Lenape (or Delawares) themselves were subordinate to and under the direction of the Mengwe or Six Nations, whether they had "made women of them" by force or by stratagem.

¶ This appears to have been the name of an Indian town, situated on the north west side of the east branch of the Susquehanah river, in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania.

SEC. VII. as high as Chemenk (Shenango) and Shummunk,* to which places they all emigrated at the beginning of the French war.† White's tribe resided there until the revolutionary war, when they went off to a place nearer to the British, whose part they had taken, and whose standard they joined; White himself had joined the Christian Indians at Scheckschaquon, several years previous to the war, and remained with them.

"Nothing, said White, had equalled the decline of his tribe since the white people had come into the country. They were destroyed in part by disorders which they brought with them, by the small pox, the venereal disease, and by the free use of spirituous liquors, to which great numbers fell victims.‡

"The emigration of the Nanticokes from Maryland was well known to the Society of the United Brethren. At the time when these people were beginning their settlement in the forks of Delaware,§ the Rev. Christian Pyrlaus noted down in his memorandum book, 'that on the 21st day of May, 1748, a number of the Nanticokes from Maryland, passed by Shamokin in ten canoes, on their way to Wyoming.'—Others, travelling by land, would frequently pass through Bethlehem, and from hence through the Water Gap to Nescopeck|| or Susquehanah, and while they

* These were places on the highest branches of the Susquehanah river above the Pennsylvania line and within the limits of the present State of New York, and in the neighbourhood of the Six Nations.

† There were two "French wars," to which the above expression might possibly apply:—the war between Great Britain and France, which commenced in 1744, and that, which commenced with Col. Washington's expedition to the Great Meadows in Pennsylvania in 1754. It is the latter, most probably, to which Mr. Heckewelder alludes.

‡ There is some obscurity here in Heckewelder's expression. It is uncertain, whether the relative pronoun—"they," in the expression—"which they brought with them,"—refers to White's tribe or "the white people." White's tribe might have "brought with them," when they migrated from Maryland to Pennsylvania and New York, those disorders; but is most probable, that Heckewelder meant it to have reference to the latter—the white people, to whom is most commonly attributed the introduction of those disorders among the aborigines of America.

§ That is, when the *United Brethren* were beginning their settlement there at Bethlehem. Not the *Nanticokes*. The Moravians, or United Brethren, began to build the town of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1741.

|| An Indian town called *Nescopeck* is laid down on Evans's map of the Middle British Colonies, published in 1755, as then situated on the east side of the East Branch of the Susquehanah, about twenty-seven miles above the fork of that river, which is where the town of Northumberland now stands, and about thirteen miles below Wyoming, which was on the north west side of the said East Branch, as herein before mentioned.—Shamokin is a small creek, which empties into the Susquehanah on the east side thereof, below what is called the forks of Susquehanah at Northumberland, and just below a place called Sunbury.

resided at Wyoming, they, together with the Shawanese, became SEC. VII. the emissaries of the Five Nations, and in conjunction with them afterwards endeavoured to remove the Christian Indians from Gnadenhutten, in Northampton county, to Wyoming; their private object being to have a full opportunity to murder the white inhabitants, in the war which they already knew would soon break out between the French and English.

“These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial place to a place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times, they were known to go from Wyoming and Chemenk, to fetch the bones of their dead from the Eastern shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state, so that they had to take off the flesh and scrape the bones clean, before they could carry them along. I well remember having seen them between the years 1750 and 1760, loaded with such bones, which, being fresh, caused a disagreeable stench, as they passed through the town of Bethlehem.*

* William Penn, and some other religious enthusiasts, whose minds were almost exclusively filled with the history of the Israelites, have expressed their “belief,” that the North American Indians were “of the *Jewish race*, that is, of the stock of the ten tribes;”—in support of which, they have fancifully stated some of the religious “rites” of the Indians; as that “they reckon by *moons*; they offer their *first-fruits*; they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles*;” and some other customs. Had Penn been apprised of the above mentioned “singular custom” of the Nanticokes, he certainly would have deemed it as proof positive of their Jewish origin. When the Israelites made their exodus or escape out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, they carried with them, not only the *bones* of Joseph agreeably to his dying order, after his body had been embalmed according to the Egyptian custom, but, as is affirmed by the Jewish Rabbins, “every tribe brought away the *bones* of the heads of their family with them.” (See the *Anc. Univ. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 577.) Although Moses has not mentioned this latter circumstance, yet it seems to be corroborated by what St. Stephen said in his speech to the Jews a little before he was put to death. (See *Acts* vii. 15.) The other custom, just alluded to, and somewhat connected with that above mentioned, was more generally prevalent with the Indians both of Virginia and Maryland. The fact seems to be certain, as attested by both Smith and Beverly, in their histories of Virginia, that the Powhatans practised the custom of *embalming* the bodies of their kings or chiefs, and the particular manner of their doing so is described by each of them. The author of this work himself has often heard and learned, when he was a boy, from numerous persons well acquainted with the latter customs of the *Choptank* Indians of Maryland, who were situated within the same county as the Nanticokes, and within less than twenty miles distant from them, that the *Choptanks* observed the custom, even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, of embalming the dead bodies of their chiefs and great men. When thus embalmed they were kept in a building set apart for that purpose, which was denominated by them—the *Quioccason* house,

SEC. VII. "They are also said to have been the inventors of a poisonous substance, by which they could destroy a whole settlement of people, and they are accused of being skilled in the arts of witchcraft; it is certain that they are dreaded on this account. I have known Indians who firmly believed that they had people among them, who could, if they pleased, destroy a whole army, by merely blowing their breath towards them. Those of the Lenape and other tribes, who pretend to witchcraft, say that they learned the science from the Nanticokes; they are not unwilling to be taxed with being wizzards, as it makes them feared by their neighbours.

"Their national name, according to the report of their chief, White, is *Nentégo*. The Delawares call them *Unéchtgo*, and the Iroquois *Seganiateraticrohne*.^{*} These three names have the same meaning, and signify *tide-water* people, or the *sea-shore* settlers. They have besides other names, by-names, as it were, given them with reference to their occupation. The Mohicans, for instance, call them *Otayáchgo*, and the Delawares *Tayach-quáns*, both which words in their respective languages, signify a "bridge," a "dry passage over a stream;" which alludes to their being noted for felling great numbers of trees across streams, to set their traps on. They are also often called the *Trappers*.

"In the year 1785, this tribe had so dwindled away, that their whole body, who came together to see their old chief White, then residing with the Christian Indians on the Huron river, north of Detroit, did not amount to 50 men. They were then going through Canada, to the Miami country, to settle beside the Shawanos, in consequence of an invitation they had received from them."[†]

There are a few legislative documents among the provincial

exactly the same term, at least in sound, as that used for the same purpose by the Powhatans, as related by both Smith and Beverly. The transition from embalming to removing the dead bodies of their chiefs or heads of families and tribes, in case of a compulsory removal of the whole tribe or nation, as was the case with both the Israelites and the Nanticokes, is natural, and rests not on religious superstition. In the case of parents, it is founded in that natural and pious affection towards them discernible even among the children of savages, and in the case of their kings and chiefs it originates from their esteem and veneration for them when living.

^{*} *Ronoon*, or as spelt above, "rohne," in the language of the Five Nations, means the same as *nation* or *people*. Colden's Hist. Five Nations, p. 61, and Tachanoontia's speech, in the treaty held at Lancaster, June 27th, 1744, in Colden's Hist. 2d part, p. 112.

[†] Heckewelder's Hist. Account, &c. p. 73—76.

records of Maryland, which are strongly illustrative, if not corroborative, of the preceding traditional history of the Naticokes; particularly as to the time and causes of their migration from Maryland, and somewhat of their conduct during what is called the French war of 1754-6. It is certain, that the white people on the eastern shore of Maryland began to "crowd upon" the Naticokes long before the middle of the eighteenth century, the period of their migration, as assigned by Heckewelder. It appears from an act of assembly of Maryland, of 1768, ch. vii., entitled, "An act for granting to the Nanticoke Indians a compensation for the lands therein mentioned," that large tracts of land had been surveyed, and patents of grant obtained thereon, as early as the years 1665 and 1695, within the limits of the little territory on the Nanticoke then occupied by these Indians. These tracts so surveyed and patented, three in number, contained the aggregate amount of 1664 acres, about two and a half square miles. These intrusions, in all probability, occasioned the first act of assembly, which appears on the records of Maryland relative to the Naticokes, entitled "An act for ascertaining the bounds of a certain tract of land, to the use of the *Nanticoke* Indians, so long as they shall occupy and live upon the same,"—first passed in the year 1698, and afterwards renewed in the year 1704. The preamble thereof does great credit to our ancestors of that period, and is as follows:—"It being most just, that the *Indians*, the ancient inhabitants of this province, should have a convenient dwelling place, in this their native country, free from the encroachments and oppression of the English; more especially the *Nanticoke* Indians in Dorchester county, who, for these many years have lived in peace and concord with the English, and in all matters in obedience to the government of this province: Be it enacted, &c., that all the land, lying and being in Dorchester county, and on the north side of *Nanticoke* river, butted and bounded as followeth:" (as stated at large in the act, containing, as I suppose, about fifty square miles,) "shall be confirmed and assured, and, by virtue of this act, is confirmed and assured unto *Panquash* and *Annotoughquan*, and the people under their government, or charge, and their heirs and successors forever; any law, usage, custom, or *grant*, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding; to be held of the lord proprietary, and his heirs, lord proprietary and lords proprietaries of this province, under the yearly rent of one beaver skin, to be paid to his said lordship and his heirs, as

SEC. VII. other rents in this province by the *English* used to be paid. Provided always, that it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons, that hath formerly taken up and obtained any grants from the Lord *Baltimore* for any tracts or parcels of land within the aforesaid boundaries, upon the *Indians* deserting or leaving the said land, to enter, occupy, and enjoy the same; any thing in this law to the contrary notwithstanding." In further proof of the incroachments or "crowding upon" the Nanticokes by the English about the latter end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, may be mentioned an act of assembly passed at the same session last mentioned, to wit, the act of 1704, ch. 39, entitled, "An act declaring that the grantees of land, lying within the *Indians'* land, may have action of trespass against such persons as cut timber off their land, on pretence of having bought the same of the *Indians*." This last act seems to have principally related to the lands then occupied by the Nanticokes and Choptanks. We here see an abridgment of, at least, if not an encroachment upon, the rights of these unfortunate aborigines to the full enjoyment of the lands on which they lived. They were not permitted to exercise the same act of ownership over the lands which for ages they had occupied, as the English, who had just intruded on their possessions: they were not permitted to sell or dispose of the natural produce of their soil—the timber of their forests. Some further information, as to the situation of the Nanticokes, in the early part of the eighteenth century is to be derived from the act of assembly of 1711, ch. 1, entitled, "An act to empower commissioners to appoint and cause to be laid out three thousand acres of land, on *Broad* creek, in Somerset county, for the use of the *Nanticoke Indians*, so long as they shall occupy the same." The preamble thereof, states—"Whereas it is represented to this present general assembly, that the land formerly laid out for the use of the *Nanticoke Indians*,"—(that is, the lands on the Nanticoke allotted to them by the preceding acts of 1698 and 1704,)—"is now much worn out, and not sufficient for them: and that it is thought advisable that some further provision be made for them." The enacting clause thereof then provides, "that these three thousand acres should be laid out where the said Indians are now settled, in Somerset county, on *Broad* creek, in Nanticoke river." From this the necessary inference is, that a part of the Nanticokes were in the possession of this land on *Broad* creek prior to the

passage of this act of assembly of 1711. But the location of this land on Broad creek answers precisely to the scite of the town of the Cuscarawaocks, as laid down by Smith on the Cuscarawaoock river, evidently the same river as the present Nanticoke. How came the Nanticokes, therefore, in possession of the ancient town of the Cuscarawaocks? This can be accounted for at this day only by supposing, that the *Nantiquacks* and *Cuscarawaocks*, of Smith, were one and the same tribe or nation, a branch of the Lenape, but, according to Heckewelder, "divided into separate bodies and distinguished by different names." When, therefore, the *Nantiquacks*, on the north bank of the Nanticoke, came to be "crowded upon" by the white people, part of them removed and incorporated themselves with their brethren, the Cuscarawaocks. It may be proper to observe here, that these lands on Broad creek, thus appropriated to the Nanticokes by the before mentioned act of 1711, ch. 1, were then supposed to lie in Somerset county, in Maryland, but when the province-line, between Maryland and the three lower counties on Delaware, came to be settled, as it was about the year 1762, these lands fell into what is now the Delaware State; which affords a probable reason, why we see nothing more on our provincial records of the Nanticokes settled on Broad creek. Further causes of the migration of the Nanticokes from Maryland appear in the act of assembly of 1721, ch. 12, entitled, "An act to empower his Honour the Governor, (for the time being,) to appoint any person or persons whatsoever, to resurvey the *Indians'* lands, and ascertain the bounds thereof." The preamble thereof states,— "Whereas complaint has been made by the *Choptank* and *Nanticoke* Indians, to this General Assembly, of some encroachments made upon the *Indians'* lands." In pursuance of the enacting clause of which act, commissioners were appointed, who resurveyed the said lands, and their resurvey was confirmed by the subsequent act of 1723, ch. 18, as being agreeable to the original grant to the Nanticokes, by the before mentioned act of 1698, of their land on the north bank of the Nanticoke, the scite of which corresponded, as before mentioned, with the scite of the *Nantiquacks*, as located by Smith on his map.

There is no doubt, however, that, although the legislature of the Province had thus endeavoured, by the preceding laws, to secure to the Indians the quiet enjoyment of the possessions and property assigned to them, many injuries to them and encroach-

SEC. VII. ments upon their property still continued to be done beyond the reach of those entrusted with the administration of justice, partly through the ignorance of the complainants or parties grieved, and perhaps in some measure from the indifference and inattention of the officers of justice to their duties in this respect. Discontents, arising from these injuries from the whites, were doubtless also, considerably excited and exaggerated by frequent conferences, which the Nanticokes must have held with their "grandfather" the Lenape, and with their patrons and friends, the Mengwe and Iroquois, on their interchange of visits with each other. In these consultations, we may be assured, keen resentments were often expressed of the gross violation of all human justice done to them by the whites in robbing them of their country; in which sensations the Lenape or Delawares, now retreating in like manner from their territories, could feelingly sympathise. It is possible also, that the French of Canada, about the time of the commencement of the war of 1744, might have secretly fomented these discontents, especially with the Lenape or Delawares, who subsequently within a few years openly joined them in the war against these colonies. The commencement of the migration of the Nanticokes from Maryland in the year 1748, as recognised by Heckewelder, is thus easily accounted for. The well known continuance of this policy of the French, on the commencement of the war of 1754, especially in alienating the affections of the Lenape or Delawares from the family of the Penns and their people of Pennsylvania, completed the rivetted enmity of the Lenape, who would naturally draw in with them their children—the Nanticokes. During this last mentioned war we therefore find, that the Provincial legislature of Maryland were under some necessity, not only of paying a little more attention to the injuries done to the Indians of the Province, particularly the Nanticokes, but also of taking measures to guard against any of their secret plots and conspiracies, or at least of preventing them from acting as spies or carrying intelligence to the enemy. They, therefore, at the session of assembly held in May, 1756, (a period of great alarm to this Province,) passed first a law, entitled, "an act for quieting the differences that have arisen and may hereafter arise between the inhabitants of this Province and the several *Indian* nations, and for punishing trespasses committed on their lands:"—by which a more effectual remedy against such abuses was deemed to have

been thereby provided. Another act also, apparently of more SEC. VII. importance, was passed at the same session, entitled, "an act for preventing *Indians* disaffected to the British interest in *America*, from coming into this Province as spies, or on any other evil design." The Nanticokes were the principal objects of this law; as appears from the preamble thereof, as follows:—"Whereas it is represented to this general assembly, that *Indians*, not in friendship or alliance with his majesty's subjects, and especially some of those *Nanticoke Indians*, who some years ago left their usual place of residence, and went to the westward, have lately fixed cabbins, under pretence of hunting, in different places of this Province, where they have behaved very insolently, and have even intimated, that they have been active in some of the horrid cruelties committed last summer by the savages on the frontiers of the neighbouring Provinces; and it is apprehended, that no strange *Indian* would, at this time of open war, come into this Province, unless with a view to get information, and give intelligence to our enemies, or on some other ill design: In order therefore, to discover any such, who may be lurking about hereafter, be it enacted," &c. The substance of the enacting clauses was,—that constables of hundreds, wherein any *Indian* town lay, should take an account annually of the *Indians* thereto belonging; and the chief *Indian* of such town refusing to give such account, might be taken into custody, and committed to prison. Also, that *Indians* travelling from their towns (within the Province) should take out passes; and, if discovered without a pass, at ten miles distance from their respective towns, might be seized and committed. To which a *proviso* was annexed, that this act should not hinder any *Indian* belonging to any of the *Six Nations* from travelling, &c. as an ambassador to the governor of this Province.

Although the *preamble* of this act states, that the Nanticokes, when they migrated from the eastern shore of Maryland, "went to the westward," yet this may be reconciled with Heckewelder's statement of their first settling at Wyoming in Pennsylvania, in sight of the Shawanese towns, on the eastern branch of the Susquehanah. Their first settlement there, (at Wyoming,) being prior to the war, the incidents, recognized by the last cited act of 1756, might have occurred subsequently to their first settlement there. "They," (the Nanticokes,) as Heckewelder states, "together with the Shawanese, endeavoured to remove

SEC. VII. the Christian Indians from Northampton county to Wyoming, their private object being to have a full opportunity to murder the white inhabitants in the war, which they already knew would soon break out between the French and English." But the Shawanese were then, prior to the war, "drawing off by degrees to the Ohio," as Heckewelder states in another place; "so that," as he says, "at the commencement of the French war in 1755, they had all, except a few families, retired to the Ohio, where they joined their countrymen (previously settled there) in the war against the English."—This seems to elucidate and explain the conduct of the Nanticokes alluded to in the last cited act of assembly of Maryland; so that it appears, they joined their neighbours—the Shawanese, some of whom were then settled "to the westward" on the Ohio, in "the horrid cruelties committed in the summer of 1755, on the frontiers of the neighbouring Provinces," to wit, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Those of the Nanticokes, who had migrated from Maryland previous to the war of 1756, and settled at Wyoming, thus associating themselves with the Shawanese and Delawares, who had during the whole of that war been the steadfast friends of the French, appear to have retired with those Shawanese and Delawares towards the Ohio after the treaty of peace in 1763. But those of the Nanticokes, who had, as Heckewelder mentions, settled at Chenango, in the State of New York, in the neighbourhood of the Iroquois or Six Nations, most probably continued in either a friendly or neutral state towards the British colonies, as the Six Nations did. With these latter Nanticokes, it appears, the remnant of the Nanticoke tribe, then still remaining on the Nanticoke and Broad-creek, in Maryland, kept up a communication in their respective counties; and, within a few years after the peace of 1763, on a mature consultation in those councils, it seems to have been the joint and final resolution of the whole of the tribe, that their remnant in Maryland should entirely remove from their ancient seats on the Nanticoke and Broad-creek, and "live with their brethren" under the shelter of the Iroquois. This receives confirmation from an act of assembly of Maryland, passed in the year 1768, entitled "an act for granting to the Nanticoke Indians a compensation for the lands therein mentioned;"—the preamble of which states:—"Whereas the greatest part of the tribe of the Nanticoke Indians have, some years ago, left and deserted the lands in this Province, appropri-

ated by former acts of assembly for their use, so long as they should occupy the same; and the few that remain have, by their petition to this general assembly, prayed that they might have liberty to dispose of their right to the said lands, or that some compensation should be made them for quitting claim thereto, as they are desirous of totally leaving this Province, and going to live with their brethren, who have incorporated themselves with the Six Nations; and that they have given a power of attorney to a certain Amos Ogden, to dispose of the said lands for them, and to execute a release and acquittance therefor, which power appears to be confirmed and approved by Sir William Johnson, his majesty's superintendant of Indian affairs for the northern department; and whereas the said Amos Ogden hath, in behalf of the said Indians, offered to take the sum of \$666 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars, for a release of right, and full acquittal of claim of the said Nanticoke Indians to the said lands on the Nanticoke and Broad-creek, be it enacted," &c. The commissioners, for emitting bills of credit, were thereby directed and required to pay to the said Amos Ogden, for the use of the said Nanticoke Indians, the said \$666 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars, in full satisfaction for the said tribe of Nanticoke Indians, their claim to the said lands, and to take his receipt for the same. On the completion of this transaction, it would appear, that every individual of the tribe or nation bid adieu for ever to their ancient abode on the Nanticoke.

No further account of any other material incidents of this voyage has reached us. They returned to James town on the seventh of September, having their boat loaded with corn. From this excursion Smith is said to have drawn a map of Chesapeake bay, and of the rivers thereof, annexing to it a description of the countries bordering thereon, and the nations or tribes inhabiting them, which he sent to the council in England, and which is said to have been done with admirable exactness,* as we have before had occasion to mention. His superior abilities having obtained the ascendancy over envy and faction, he now entered on his office of president.

About this time Newport arrived with an additional supply of inhabitants, and with fresh "instructions" from the London company. The tenor of these "instructions" demonstrates, that those who were engaged in the colonization of America at this time in England, were actuated more by the alluring pros-

The tenor
of some In-
structions
from Eng-
land to
Virginia.

* Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 127.

SEC. VII. 1608. pects of a sudden acquisition of wealth, than the future benefits arising from colonies. The president and council of the colony were required to explore the western country, in order to procure certain intelligence of a passage to the South Sea; to transmit, as a token of success in the discovery of mines, a lump of gold; and to find some of the lost company sent out by Raleigh to Roanoke. And they threatened in a letter to Smith, that unless the charge of Newport's voyage, amounting to about two thousand pounds, was defrayed by the ship's return, they should be deserted, and left to remain there as banished men. A reader of humanity could scarcely give credit to this fact, did he not find it recorded by a creditable historian.* Thus far, then, we have not yet found, that either religious persecution or political oppression, or even the glory of propagating the christian faith, however much talked of, were really and truly the prime and original motives to English colonization.

An attempt of the Plymouth company to settle a colony in Maine.

A feeble attempt made in this and the preceding year by the North Virginia or Plymouth company, to plant a colony in that part of North America now called the District of Maine, deserves some notice. In 1607 Sir John Popham, then lord chief justice of England, and others concerned in the Plymouth company, sent out two ships with a colony, under the government of George Popham, his brother, attended with Raleigh Gilbert, nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, second in command. They sailed from Plymouth on the last of May, 1607, and on the 11th of August landed on a small island, since called Parker's island, at the mouth of Sagadahoc or Kennebec river. Here they built a store-house and fortified it, and gave it the name of fort St. George. On the fifth of December the two ships sailed for England, leaving a little colony of forty-five persons. During the winter which was said to have been very severe, the governor or commander-in-chief, George Popham, died. They had the misfortune of losing all their stores by fire; so that when the ships arrived the next year, 1608, bringing with them the disagreeable intelligence of the death of Sir John Popham and Sir John Gilbert, in England, the great patrons of the colony, they were so dispirited that they unanimously resolved to return with the ships to England, which they did. All the fruit of this expedition was the building of a barn, which was found to

* Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 127, 148, and Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 162.

be of use to the succeeding colonists, who planted there some years afterwards.*

SEC. VII.

1609.

In the succeeding year, an important change took place in the London or South Virginia Company. Whatever their motives might have been, it seems that the members of that company thought it proper to petition the king for a new organization of their body. Some have attributed this to that supreme direction of all the company's operations, which the king, by the former charter, had reserved to himself, and which discouraged persons of rank or property from becoming members of a society so dependent on the arbitrary will of the crown.† Others have supposed that the distractions and divisions which had prevailed in the council in the colony, having created much mismanagement in their affairs, the company in England were on that account induced to request an alteration in their charter.‡ While others again have attributed the desire of a change therein to their inordinate thirst for a sudden accumulation of wealth; § which conjecture seems to be too much strengthened by the tenor of their last instructions sent to the colony by Newport. The most probable motives, however, arose from a combination of the two last mentioned causes; and, as a late writer upon it observes—disappointed in their sanguine expectations of a rich and immediate profit, they were willing enough to believe the representations of the discontented and envious, rather than suppose that they themselves were mistaken in their calculations. || The king yielded to their request, and granted what is commonly called the *second charter of Virginia*, bearing date the 23d of May, 7 Jac. 1, (A. D. 1609.)¶ By this the administration of the affairs of the colony was vested in a single person, under the denomination of a governor, who was to reside in the colony, and to act according to the orders, laws, and in-

The second charter of Virginia, and the causes of granting it.

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 10. Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 160, 162.

† Robertson's Hist. of America, vol. 4, p. 192.

‡ Oldmixon's British Empire in America, vol. 1, p. 225. Harris's Voyages, vol. 2, p. 225. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 243.

§ Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 164. Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 1, p. 42.

|| Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 148. Chalmers (in his Annals, ch. 2, p. 24,) assigns another probable reason for their application for a new charter. "Partly in order to augment the number of the adventurers by the addition of persons of the greatest consequence in the nation, but more to explain former and to acquire new privileges."

¶ See this charter at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 58.

SEC. VII. structions of a council resident in England. The principal
 1609. clause in this charter which has any immediate relation to what is now the state of Maryland, is that which designated the extent of territory thereby granted. The king granted and confirmed to the company, "all those lands, countries, and territories, situate, lying, and being in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land called Cape or *Point Comfort* all along the sea coast to the northward, two hundred miles, and from the said point of Cape Comfort all along the sea coast to the southward, two hundred miles, and all that space and circuit of land lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and north-west, and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles along the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid." This was certainly a great enlargement of their territories beyond what was expressed in their first or former charter; which seemed to have confined them to fifty miles of English statute measure, northward and southward, along the coast of America from the *first seat* of their plantation and habitation, which was James town, and only one hundred miles back into the country from the sea-coast. But the country granted by this second charter, included nearly one-third of the present United States. The extent of it "from sea to sea," that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, would have been absurd, could it be supposed that they were then acquainted with the real distance between those seas across the continent of North America, in the latitude of Point Comfort. But it would seem, from the tenor of their last instructions to the president and council, sent out by Newport, before referred to, that they were at that time strongly possessed with the idea, either that a passage to the south sea westward, through some inlet, would soon be discovered, or that the distance to that ocean across the continent was but very short, compared with what it has been since found out to be. Into this mistake they seem to have been led, not only by the previous discoveries of the Spaniards at the narrow isthmus of Darien, but also by some accounts given by the Indians to captain Smith, when he was exploring the Chesapeake, of great waters lying to the westward, not far distant; obviously meaning the lakes, and not the Pacific ocean.* Another observation on this

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 1, p. 40. It is worthy of notice, however, that Powhatan told Smith that all the accounts he had received "of salt waters beyond the mountains," were false. Burk's Hist. of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 129.

charter occurs, in relation to the subsequent grant by Charles I. to Lord Baltimore, which at first was so loudly complained of as unjustly lopping off so much of the territories of Virginia. The absurd aspect of the extent of territory granted by this second charter of Virginia, left this solitary question only—how and where its excrescencies should be pared off? That it was too large for any kingdom or commonwealth upon earth, admitted of no doubt.

The last and concluding clause in this charter seems also to claim some notice, as it manifests the temper of those times in relation to religious controversies, and indicates those causes which eventuated in about twenty years afterwards, in the settlement of a colony of English catholics in Maryland. “And lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire or expect of this action is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and christian religion,* in which respect we shall be loath that any person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to affect the superstitions of the church of Rome, we do hereby declare, that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage, from time to time, to be made into the said country, but such as first shall have taken the *oath of supremacy*; for which purpose we do by these presents give full power and authority to the treasurer for the time being, and any three of the council to tender and exhibit the said oath to all such persons as shall at any time be sent and employed in the same voyage.”†

The Dutch nation, notwithstanding their constant war with Spain for many years for their independence, which about this time was acknowledged by all except their ancient masters,

The settlement of the Dutch at New York.

* This cant pervades all the early charters of North America, both French and English. As the emperor Powhatan was well known to entertain a most inveterate hatred to the Anglo-Virginians, on account of their invasion of his territories, his sentiments on the above clause, could he have read it, would very probably have been similar to those of the Indian cazique of Cuba; to whom, when fastened to the stake to be burnt, a Franciscan friar, labouring to convert him, promised immediate admittance into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the *christian faith*. “Are there any Spaniards,” says he, after some pause, “in that region of bliss which you describe?” “Yes,” replied the monk, “but only such as are worthy and good.” “The best of them,” returned the indignant cazique, “have neither worth nor goodness; I will not go to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race!”

† This clause will be animadverted upon more at large in a subsequent part of this work.

SEC. VII. had now attained to a considerable extent of trade in the East
 1609. Indies ; insomuch that the state's general had, in 1602, thought it proper to erect what is styled by historians, the Dutch East India Company. The great length of the passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope being productive of many inconveniences, the company became anxious, as indeed all the rest of Europe had long been, to explore some more convenient route thereto. With this view they employed captain Henry Hudson, an English navigator of considerable experience, and who had been engaged in the English service in the two preceding years on two similar expeditions, to find out a shorter passage to the East Indies.* Being furnished by the company with a vessel equipped with all necessities, and with twenty men, English and Dutch, he sailed from the Texel about the beginning of April, in the year 1609. He at first pursued the same course which he had done in his two former voyages, nearly north along the coast of Norway and Lapland, until as the journal† expresses it,—“they came to the height of *The North Cape of Finmarke*, and had sight of *Ward-house*,” the

* Some doubt has been expressed by different writers, as to the *authority* under which Hudson sailed in this his *third* voyage for a discovery of a passage to the Indies, the journal of it being silent on that subject. That the expedition was fitted out at his own expense and on his own account, is very improbable. His sailing from the *Texel*, a fact recognized by the journal, warrants the inference, that the voyage was either at the private instance and expense of some Dutch merchants at Amsterdam, or at that of the Dutch East India company, as above mentioned. That it was under the authority and at the expense of that company seems to be established by the following passage and citation in the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. 10, p. 293, in the section where they treat of the proceedings of the Dutch East India company :—“Feeling some inconveniences from the great length of the voyage, they (the company) were still very desirous of finding some shorter passage to the Indies ; in order to which *they contracted*, in the year 1609, with a famous English pilot, Henry Hudson, who promised them great things in that respect, but performed nothing more than attempting a passage first by the *north-east*, and then by the *north-west*, in *one voyage*, without success in either.” For this the authors of that work cite,—“*Avertissement à la tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie*, p. 40.” Supposing that this *fact* was recognized by the Dutch East India company, it takes away all doubt about the authority under which Hudson sailed. The citation from the *Biog. Britan. art. Hudson*, in *Holmes's Annals*, vol. 1, p. 167, confirms this.

† The *journal* of this voyage, as inserted in the “*Collections of the New York Historical Society*,” (vol. 1.) and extracted from *Purchas's Pilgrims*, is there stated to have been “written by *Robert Ivat*, of Lime-House,” who appears throughout the journal to have acted as *master's mate*, and who is recognized in that capacity in the journal of Hudson's preceding voyage, in the year 1608, from England. *Ivat* was, therefore, an Englishman, and his journal originally in the English language.

most northerly points of the Norwegian Lapland. Here, "after much trouble with fogges, sometimes, and more dangerous of ice," Hudson appears to have altered the destination of his voyage, which evidently was to have explored a route to Japan or China by Nova Zembla, along the northern coast of Russia, and through the straits, between Asia and America, since discovered by captain Cook to be impassable on account of ice. Pursuing their course back, they arrived on the thirtieth of May, at one of the Ferrs islands, which lies in about 62° north latitude, a little to the north-west of the Shetland islands of Scotland. Here they watered and repaired, and on the first of June sailed again, directing their course to the westward. After a series of "stormes," and losing their fore-mast, they found themselves, on the third of July, on the banks of Newfoundland, "among a great fleet of *Frenchmen*, which lay fishing on the banke." Apparently desirous of landing, in order to replace their mast, they kept their course westwardly within soundings, until the thirteenth of July, when they first "had sight of the land." On the eighteenth, they "went into a very good harbour," and there, according to the journal, "they went on shoare, and cut a fore-mast,—then at noone they came aboard againe, and found the height of the place to bee in 44 degrees 1 minute."* After remaining in this harbour about six days, having furnished themselves with a new mast, watered, and wantonly "drove the *salvages* from their houses, and took the spoyle of them," as their journal says, they, on the six and twentieth of July, "sat sayle and came to sea." They continued coasting the continent of North America without touching at any land, except for a few hours on the eastern banks of Cape Cod, until they arrived, on the eighteenth of August, at the capes of the Chesapeake. Without any apparent cause, either assigned on the journal or otherwise appearing, they set out to retrace their course back again along the continent; but being blown considerably off the land, as low as the latitude of 36°, they with some difficulty regained the mouth of the Chesapeake; from whence they departed again

* This harbour is stated by Doct. Miller, in his discourse before the Hist. Soc. of New York, (see their Collections, vol. 1, p. 30,) to have been "at or near the place where *Portland*, in the district of *Maine*, now stands." But if the journal be accurately printed, as to the figures—"44 degrees,"—the harbour of *Penobscot* would seem to correspond better with the latitude mentioned, and, apparently from maps, answers every other part of the description equally as well.

SEC. VII. on the twenty-seventh of August, and proceeded along the coast to the mouth of the Delaware. Not finding the entrance thereof with ease, or, as they say, "the bay being shoald," they held on their course towards the north until they came to *Sandy Hook*, within which they anchored on the third of September, in the latitude of "40 degrees 30 minutes," according to their journal. Curiosity, or some other reason unknown, induced the captain to ascend the river, which now bears his name, as high up, it is said, as Albany; and immediately on his return down, took his departure from the Hook, on the fourth of October, and after a short passage arrived "on the seventh day of November, in the year 1609, in the *range* of Dartmouth in England."

This voyage has been since rendered of more importance than it would otherwise have been deemed, on account of its having laid the foundation of the original Dutch colony at New York; and which, in process of time, materially affected the limits of the province of Maryland.

If Hudson, in this voyage, sailed under the authority and at the expense of the Dutch East India company, as it appears he did, all right of property in any lands or countries discovered by him, even supposing him to have been the *first* discoverer thereof, (of which he no where in America was,) would have immediately appertained to, and been vested in, his owners—the Dutch East India company. But it no where appears that they, as a company, ever availed themselves of, or claimed any right to such property; and it might be inferred, from their not employing him any longer, that they were rather dissatisfied with his voyage. Indeed, his sudden return from the North Cape of Lapland seems, in mercantile phraseology, to have been at least a *deviation* from the original destination of his voyage. All right to any lands or countries, supposed to be *first* discovered by him, thus clearly vesting in his owners, and not in himself, it is plain he himself could make no valid sale of them. The company might possibly have sold them to some individual merchants; but this would reduce the question again into an inquiry,—what right could the company, or even Hudson himself, have acquired by merely visiting a country or lands long before discovered by other navigators? If coasting along a continent was a discovery, Sebastian Cabot had done that before him; and if the entrance into a harbour or river was an act of

occupancy, Verazzini had anticipated him. The true state of the question seems to be, that as the right acquired by *occupancy* in the process of colonization seems to be indefinite in its extent of territory, it remains to be decided under the reasonable usage of the law of nations, whether the settlement or *occupancy* of the country by the English in Virginia, in pursuance of the right of *first* discovery by Cabot, and under the first charter of Virginia, in 1606, comprehending the coast from 34° to 45° north latitude, was not sufficient to preclude the interloping subjects of other sovereigns or states, from intruding within their limits? Upon reasonable principles, therefore, it seems to be manifest that the Dutch could derive no sort of right or title to any part of the continent of America from either Hudson or his voyage. It is possible, however, that some individual and enterprising Dutch merchants might have purchased from him his journal and charts.* This corresponds with what historians state, that in the succeeding year, 1610, some merchants of Amsterdam sent ships to Hudson's river *to open a trade with the natives*;† but in what year, prior to 1613, they commenced settlements there, it does not clearly appear.

Although Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as before mentioned, had taken formal possession, in her majesty's name, of the island of Newfoundland, yet hitherto no settlements had been made thereon; which probably may be attributed to the coldness of the climate and the barrenness of the soil. However, Mr. John Guy, a merchant, and afterwards mayor of Bristol, who, in the year 1609, wrote a treatise to encourage persons to undertake a settlement there, by his writing and solicitation, succeeded so well, that in the following year king James made a grant, dated April the 27th, 1610, to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, lord keeper, Sir Lawrence Tanfield, lord chief baron, Sir John Dodderidge, king's sergeant, Sir Francis Bacon, then solicitor general, afterwards lord chancellor, and created lord Verulam, together with the abovementioned Mr. John Guy, divers other merchants of Bristol, and other persons therein mentioned, by

1610.
English at-
tempt to
settle New-
foundland.

* This fact is stated in Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, p. 109, 110, which in some measure accounts for the publication by Purchas, of the journal of Hudson's third voyage as drawn up by *Ivat*, the mate; Hudson's own journal being probably in the possession of the Dutch.

† It is thus stated in *Charlevoix* Nouv. Franc. vol. 1, p. 142.—“Des l'annee suivante quelques Marchands d'Amsterdam envoyerent des navires dans cette Riviere (Hudson's) pour y faire la traite.” See this quotation in Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 167.

SEC. VII. the name of the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and
1610. Planters of the cities of London and Bristol, for the colony or plantation in Newfoundland; from north latitude forty-six to fifty-two degrees, together with the seas and islands lying within ten leagues of the coast. The proprietors soon after, in the same year, sent the before mentioned Mr. Guy, as conductor and governor of a colony of thirty-nine persons, who accompanied him to Newfoundland, and began a settlement at Conception bay.* It appears, that this attempt to form a settlement there, did not succeed; and we are told, that Mr. Guy returned to England again, after residing there for two years, with little advantage. A part of his colony, if not the whole of them, returned with him.†

As the shipwreck of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, on the Bermuda islands, in their voyage to Virginia, in the year 1609, had made the colonists acquainted with the produce, pleasantness, and beauty of those islands, whose accounts thereof reached the company in England, they were induced to apply to the king, to obtain an enlargement of their territories, so as to include these islands. Considerable deficiencies, as to their necessary powers in conducting the affairs of the Virginia colony under their then existing charter, appearing to them to require remedy, afforded additional inducement to them to apply for supplemental authority, whereby they might be enabled to remedy existing abuses, not only in the government of the colony, but in procuring the means of defraying the charges and expenses of supporting it. They accordingly obtained from the king a new patent, called by some writers the third charter of Virginia, bearing date March 12th, 9 Jac. 1, (1611-12.) By this the king gave, granted, and confirmed "to the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London, for the first colony in Virginia, and to their heirs and successors forever, all and singular those islands whatsoever, situate and being in any part of the ocean, seas bordering upon the coast of our said first colony of Virginia, and being within 300 leagues of any of the parts heretofore granted to the said treasurer and company, in our said former letters patent as aforesaid, and being within or between the one-and-fortieth and thirtieth

1612.
 The third
 charter of
 Virginia.

* Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 172.

† Oldmixon's British Empire in America, vol. 1, p. 3. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 249. Also, see note (I) at the end of this volume.

degrees of northerly latitude." They were authorized also, to SEC. VII.
1612. hold four great and general courts, at the four usual feasts in the year; and therein to elect and choose members of the council in England, for the said colony, and to nominate and appoint officers, and to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the said plantation. Besides other incidental powers, apparently necessary, they authorized the company to establish lotteries, in order to raise money for their necessary expenditures.* It appears, however, from the whole purview of this instrument, that it was intended, not as an abrogation, but as a *deed of confirmation* of their former charter. Their territories, therefore, were not abridged by it in their enormous extent, but on the sea-board were considerably enlarged. In order to derive their promised utility from the Bermudas, it was not thought necessary, it seems, for them to retain those islands, as a part of their territories, for they immediately sold them to another company, who thereupon sent out a colony to settle them.

The French and Dutch, now making some progress in their settlements on the North American continent; the former in Acadie, now called Nova Scotia, and in that part of the United States called the District of Maine; the latter in the State of New York: Sir Thomas Dale, the governor of Virginia, in virtue of the claim of the English to the whole northern part of America, by reason of Cabot's prior discovery of it, sent an armed expedition in the year 1613, under captain Samuel Argall, to break up and destroy those settlements. He did so as to those of the French; but, as he left no garrison to keep possession of the places where they had settled, they soon afterwards resumed their former stations. On his return to Virginia, he visited the Dutch settlement on the Hudson; and, on his demanding the possession thereof, the Dutch governor, Hendrick Christizens, incapable of resistance, peaceably submitted himself and his colony to the king of England, and, under him, to the governor of Virginia, consenting to pay a tribute. But in the next year, a new governor from Amsterdam arriving, with a reinforcement, asserted the right of Holland to the country; refused the tribute and acknowledgment stipulated with the English by his predecessor, and put himself into a posture of defence. He built a fort on the south end of the island Manhattan, where the city of New York now stands, and held the country many years, under

1613.

Captain
Argall's
expedition
to break up
the French
and Dutch
settlements
in Nova
Scotia and
New York.

* See the charter at large, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 72.

SEC. VII. a grant from the States General, by the name of the New Netherlands.*

1614.

It would be improper to pass over, altogether without notice, the voyage and discoveries made, at this period of time, by captain John Smith, the celebrated founder of Virginia, often before mentioned, in that part of North America subsequently denominated *New England*. It has been before observed, that the superior quality of peltry or fur in all northern climates had given to the northern parts of America much stronger attractions to such Europeans as sought merely the emoluments of traffick in their voyages across the Atlantic, than to those parts which now form the southern states of America. These, indeed, when the hand of agriculture should be applied to them, were capable of rendering the more substantial necessities of life in much greater abundance. But commerce always demands immediate profit, and cannot wait for the slow progress of arts and civilization. The whole country was a forest, and agriculture required patience. Hence Canada was amongst the earliest colonies of North America. The fishery on the banks of Newfoundland also presented a still more enticing object. While it produced almost incalculable profits to the enterprizing merchants, it gave nourishment to the strength of a maritime nation. These considerations were, without doubt, obvious to the strong energetic mind of such a man as Smith. We therefore find him in this year, 1614, in the employment of some English merchants, who had sent him to that part of the American continent then called North Virginia, with two ships under his command, for the triple purpose of fishing on the coast, of searching for mines of gold and copper, and for trafficking with the natives for furs. Leaving the Downs on the third of March, he arrived on the last of April at the island of Monchigon in latitude forty-three degrees four minutes. After building some fishing-boats, he, in one of them, with eight men, while the rest were employed in fishing, ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and bartered with the natives for beaver and other furs. He got for trifles near eleven thousand beaver-skins, one hundred martins, and as many others, within the distance of twenty leagues. With these furs, train-oil, and cod-fish, he returned to England, without forming any settlement in the country, having made his voyage out and

* Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 162, 179. Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 1, p. 57.

home in about six months, and acquired about £1500 sterling for his principals in the commodities he brought to them. From the observations made by him on this coast during his voyage, he formed a map of it, and presented it to Prince Charles, the same who was afterwards king Charles the first. The Prince appears to have derived some amusement from changing the old Indian names of places into those familiar in England, so as to justify the denomination, which, either he or Smith, or both conjointly, thought it proper to affix to the country, calling it *New England*. In the succeeding year, 1615, this enterprising man was fitted out again with two vessels, and a small colony "of sixteen men" only, to make a settlement there; but he was so unfortunate as to be captured by pirates, and his plausible schemes proved abortive.* His preceding and subsequent account thereof appears, however, to have contributed much to raise the reputation of the country, and to induce adventurers thither for fishery and traffick; but none for settlement; until accident, in the year 1620, caused a colony to settle within its limits; the causes of which we now proceed to develope in the following section.

SEC. VII.
1614.

* Smith's Hist. Vig. vol. ii. p. 175, 205, edit. 5, of 1819.

SECTION VIII.

Reasons for the following digression—Rise of the reformation—Its progress through the continent of Europe—Its introduction into England—The origin of the Puritans—Divisions among the Puritans—State of religious parties in England, on James I's accession—The independents emigrate to Holland—Their distressing situation there—They form the design of removing to America—Negociate with the Virginia Company for that purpose—Dissensions in the Virginia Company occasion delay—They embark for America, and settle at Plymouth, in Massachusetts.

SECT. VIII. It is a common remark throughout the United States of America, that most of these states were originally colonized by means

Reasons
for the fol-
lowing di-
gression.

of religious persecution, which the first settlers of them experienced in their mother country; and the provinces of New England, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, are generally cited as instances thereof. But when we recur to the records of history, at the period of time when the colonies of New England and Maryland were first settled,* and find that the mother country was then a scene of the most tumultuous contest between three principal sects of the christian religion, the established church of England, the Roman Catholics, and the Puritans,† a contest, not indeed for the *supreme power* merely, but each for its own *existence*; and find also, that at the close of the scene the established church gave many instances of her moderation, not exhibited by either of the others when in power, we are compelled, if not entirely to excuse, at least to make much allowance for her conduct in the causes of those first emigrations. The reign of queen Mary abundantly demonstrated that the English Roman Catholics would tolerate neither the church of England nor the Puritans. And the conduct of the Puritans, in their turn, at the helm of power, will equally convince us, that neither church

* The colony of Virginia, the only English colony prior to those last above mentioned, unquestionably originated from the Spanish views of gold and silver mines, as well as from a desire to find out a short passage to the East Indies, and not from religious motives.

† The appellation of "Puritans," included, during Elizabeth's reign, the *Presbyterians*, as well as the *Brownists*, the latter of whom were afterwards called *Independents*.

nor Catholics were to expect toleration from them.* Nay indeed, these Puritans, when at the height of their power, and the sceptre of England was wielded by the hypocritical Cromwell, had their agents of persecution, even in the infant colony of Maryland. Among the "Acts and orders of a general assembly, holden at Patuxent (Maryland) the 20th of October, 1654, by commission from his highness the lord protector," &c. is an act, entitled, "An Act concerning religion," whereby, "it was enacted and declared, That none, who professed and exercised the *Popish* (commonly called the Roman Catholic) religion, *could be protected in this province*, by the laws of England, formerly established, and yet unrepealed: nor by the government of the commonwealth of England, &c. but to be restrained from the exercise thereof, &c. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth,† should not be restrained from, but protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion; so as they abused not this liberty, to the injury of others, disturbance of the peace, &c. *Provided* such liberty was not extended to *popery* or *prelacy*, nor to such, as under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised *licentiousness*."‡ The reader will easily see through the flimsy veil of this insidious proviso. As prelacy is synonymous to *episcopacy*, and the church of England could not exist without the government of its *bishops*, it is very fairly to be supposed, that it was meant thereby to exclude that church also, as well as the Catholics, from the exercise of their religion in this province. But be that as it may, the crime of "licentiousness" was certainly so indefinite as to leave ample occasion for unlimited persecution; and a slight perusal of the early part of the history of Massachusetts, will furnish numerous instances of the wild judicial constructions put by these fanatics on similar legislative expressions.

Thus then, as the causes of the colonization of New England and Maryland, which are nearly coeval, appear not to be clearly

* By an ordinance of the 23d of August, 1645, imprisonment for a year, on the third offence, and pecuniary penalties on the former two, were inflicted, in case of using the Book of Common Prayer, not only in a place of public worship, but also in any private family. See 4 *Pl. Com.* 53.

† This meant, without doubt, the doctrine and discipline of the *Independents*, forming at that time in England, under Oliver, what might be called, the established religion or church.

‡ See Bacon's edition of the Laws of Maryland, 1654, ch. 4.

SECT.
VIII.

understood, in the United States, or if so, not generally acknowledged, it is here hoped, that it will afford some apology for leading the reader, in a very cursory manner, through the scenes of religious transactions in England, attending the progress of the reformation, and the consequent struggle, between the three great religious sects before mentioned, for that earthly political crown, which was to bring the others as humble vassals at the victor's feet.

1517.

Rise of the
reforma-
tion.

When Pope Leo X. in the beginning of the sixteenth century, by his profuse liberality in the patronage and encouragement of the arts and sciences, in the collection and publication of valuable and scarce books, and also in the completion of that superb edifice at Rome, St. Peter's church, but more especially by his inordinate ambition to aggrandize his family, the house of Medici, of Florence, had exhausted the revenues of the church, he was constrained to adopt such devices as suggested themselves to him, to replenish the coffers of the holy see. As the christian religion, in its then organized state, acknowledged, and in the consent of a large majority of that religion* still acknowledges the papal power, of granting a pardon and remission of all sins, Leo was naturally induced, through his philosophic and unbelieving mind, to yield to the superstition of his flock. He, therefore, in the year 1517, published all over Europe general *indulgences* in favour of such as would contribute sums of money for the building of St. Peter's church, and at the same time appointed two persons in each country to recommend those indulgences by preaching, and to receive the money for them. As religious indulgences are founded on the infinite treasure of the merits of Jesus, the holy virgin, and all the saints, which it is supposed Christ's vicar upon earth has a right of distributing, by virtue of the communion of saints, it must be allowed, that Leo fell upon a most apt, though not a novel mode, of recruiting the treasures of the apostolic chamber, of Rome. But an unfortunate incident in the mode of collecting this revenue, brought such a storm upon the church, as to shake the proud fabric to its basis. The person appointed by the pope for this purpose, in the northern part of Germany, particularly in Saxony, was Albert, archbishop of Magdeburg and Mentz.

* "Three-fourths of Europe consist at this moment (1805) of christians professing the Roman Catholic religion." Mr. Fox's speech in the house of commons, on the Catholic petition, May 13th, 1805.

That prelate, either by his own authority, or by order of the pope, bestowed the commission for distributing these indulgences on the order of *Dominican* friars, instead of that of the *Augustine* friars, as had been usual, and, as it seems, in consonance to the convention which had been made among the four orders of mendicants. This preference sorely vexed the Augustine friars, who considered the neglect as a contempt upon their order; perhaps also, at the same time regretting to see themselves frustrated of the share they might have had of the money. These indulgences certainly appear to the eye of reason, however long they may have been sanctioned by christian usage and practice, as totally repugnant to those moral principles, adopted by the common consent of all mankind, in all ages, as the best ligaments of human society.* In this point of view the Augustines did not omit to place them; and the Dominicans, by their indiscreet conduct in relation to them, gave their enemies ample room to exercise their envious and malignant passions. Offices were every where set up, even in taverns, where the collectors consumed in riot and debauchery a great part of the profits produced from this traffic of the sacred treasures of the church. John Stulpitz, or Staupitz, vicar general of the Augustines in Germany, being supported by the elector of Saxony, who had a particular regard for him, was the first who openly attacked the sermons of the Dominicans, and the abuses which were committed in the distribution of the indulgences. The better to promote his opposition, he selected for his colleague and assistant Martin Luther, a preacher of the same order of Augustine friars, and a doctor of Wittenberg, whose name has since been so well known in the world. As he was a man of an ardent, zealous, and enterprizing temper, and possessed considerable talents for both writing and eloquence, and remained safe also from the thunder of the Vatican, under the protection of the elector of Saxony, his doctrines soon gained numbers of proselytes throughout all Germany, and indeed set all Europe in a blaze of zeal for reforming the abuses of the church. In addition to this, it may be observed, that the minds of the people of Europe had been already, in some measure, prepared for the occasion, by that diffusion of ancient literature, particularly the Platonic philosophy, which resulted from the invention of printing. The combustible material had been collected. It only re-

SECT.
VIII.
1517.

* See note (K) at the end of the volume.

SECT. quired the intrepidity of such a man as Luther to apply the
 VIII. spark.—From such sources originated that great event so well
 1517. known in history under the name of the reformation.*

Its pro-
 gress thro'
 the conti-
 nent of
 Europe.

- Minor reformers soon sprung up in numbers, sketching out different schemes of reformation, in such different shades of opinion as best suited their fancy. In Switzerland, Zuinglius declared himself an advocate for the doctrine of Luther, and imitating his conduct, declaimed warmly against the person who was appointed to publish the indulgences in that country. Subsequently, however, differing in opinion from Luther, on the doctrine of the Eucharist, he became the founder of the sect in Switzerland called *Sacramentists*.† The *Anabaptists* also, in Germany, grew out of Luther's heresy; though he took pains to disown them, and to have them repressed. They boasted of immediate revelations to themselves, and taught that men ought to regulate their conduct by the visionary precepts which they supposed inspiration might dictate. They destroyed all the books that happened in their way, but the bible. They despised not only ecclesiastical but civil laws; and held that all government was noting but usurpation. They were for having all things in common, and for every man's being free and independent, and promised themselves a happy empire, in which they would reign alone, after having extirpated all the wicked. Encouraged by this doctrine, the peasants and boors throughout Germany rose up in arms, and threatened destruction to every government. In private life they were not less wild and dangerous. One of their leaders in Switzerland, in the presence of his father and mother, cut off his brother's head with a sword, assigning to them as a reason for it, that he was commanded by God to do so. Two of their principal leaders, natives of Holland, John Matthias, who had been a baker at Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beukels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, aided by their followers, took forcible possession of the city of Munster, in Westphalia. Matthias, assuming the power of a prophet, governed the city, until he was killed in a sally by the bishop of Munster's troops, who besieged it. He was succeeded by Boccold, who, in imitation of king David, danced naked through the streets, and caused himself to be crowned king of Sion. He ordered

* Du Pin's Hist. of the Church, Cent. xvi. ch. 6. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 29, p. 500.

† Du Pin's Hist. of the Church, Cent. xvi. ch. 7, 11.

his minor prophets to preach to the people, that it was one of the privileges granted by God to the saints, to have a plurality of wives. To set the example, he himself married three. As he was allured by beauty or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives, until they amounted to fourteen; nor was any private man allowed to remain with one only. As it was instant death to disobey this tyrant in any thing, one of his wives having uttered certain words that implied some doubt concerning his divine mission, he immediately called the whole number of them together, and commanding the blasphemer, as he called her, to kneel down, he cut off her head with his own hands; and so far were the rest from expressing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing, with a frantic joy, around the bleeding body of their companion.* It is but justice, however, to the modern Anabaptists to add, that these extravagant and fanatic notions have been long since relinquished by them.†

SECT.

VIII.

1527.

Next in order came the grand reformer of the reformed, John Calvin. He seems to have been more remarkable for his talents as a controversial writer, than as a preacher. As the heresies of the before mentioned reformers did not find a ready access into France, of which Calvin was a native, he was forced into a kind of voluntary exile to other countries, to propagate such doctrines as he might think convenient to propose. The glory of being the founder and head of a religious sect, is scarcely less intoxicating than that of being at the head of an empire. With a mind filled, without doubt, with this sort of ambition, he wandered to Geneva. As this city formed in itself a little independent republic, being but a few years before emancipated from the tyranny of the dukes of Savoy, and as the heresies of Luther and Zuinglius, by the preaching of William Farel, a French Protestant refugee, and other reformers, had gained so much ground in this city, that the *Gospellers*, as they were there called, had driven the catholic bishop out of the city, and seized both the ecclesiastical and temporal power into their own hands, it became the great asylum for all the French refugees, who were discontented with the established religion of their own country. Here John Calvin was persuaded by his friend Farel to fix his abode. Calvin was to write

1536.

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. book 5th, Du Pin's Hist. of the Church, Cent. xvi. ch. 8 and 10, Bayle's Hist. Dict. art. Anabaptists.

† See note (L) at the end of this volume.

SECT. and Farel was to preach, and thus they were jointly to defend
VIII. their possession of the temporal as well as ecclesiastical powers

1536. of the little state. They soon found cause of disagreement with their friends and allies the Bernese, who were Lutherans. They abominated the practices of these Bernese Lutherans, in making use of unleavened bread in their sacrament, and of women being married with their hair dishevelled. The inhabitants of Geneva still retained also their fondness for other holydays besides Sundays; and their reformation in manners did not keep pace exactly with their reformation in doctrines. To punish these propensities to sin, Calvin and his coadjutor refused to administer the sacrament to them. The citizens enraged rose in a body, and drove them both out of the city. Calvin, however, soon contrived to raise a powerful faction in his favour, and in a year
1541. or two, (1541,) he was solicited to return. He returned, indeed, with redoubled influence and power. The first thing he did was to establish a form of discipline and a consistorial jurisdiction, with power to exercise canonical censures and punishments, even to excommunication. He shut up all taverns, prohibited all profane dancing and singing, and put a stop to all sports.

In vain, did the more rational part of the citizens complain, that this was re-establishing the tyranny of the church of Rome. Calvin had the syndics on his side; and the contumacious were threatened with excommunication, if they did not submit. A member of the council, however, had the courage to impeach his doctrine as being unsound: but the magistrates, without further inquiry, committed him to prison, and condemned him to do penance for his accusation, by walking through the city with a torch in his hand; probably intimating thereby, that he deserved to be burnt as a heretic. One Bolsec, a physician who had denied Calvin's doctrine of predestination, and said that he made God the author of sin, was first imprisoned and then banished the city, under the penalty of being whipped if he ever returned there again.

1551. But the most impious abuse of the secular power, in matters of religion, happened in the case of the famous Michael Reves, commonly called Servetus, a Spaniard, and one of the most learned physicians of the age. He had been imprisoned for his opinions, at Vienna; but making his escape from thence he took refuge at Geneva. It was natural for him to hope for an asylum amongst a people who had founded their liberties upon their right

of thinking for themselves on religious subjects, and disclaiming authority in points of conscience: he was fatally deceived. On his arrival at Geneva, he was thrown into prison, and accused by Calvin of some heterodox opinions with regard to the Trinity, and other articles of faith. He was at the same time robbed by the magistrates of a gold chain, and a considerable sum of money, which never were returned to him; so that he was in great danger of perishing during his imprisonment, for want of the common necessities of life. Being called upon to make his defence, he did it with so much freedom and learning, that Calvin could oppose him with nothing but the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. Servetus suffered this sentence without retracting his opinion, to the indelible infamy of all those who were concerned in it. As an explanatory supplement to the sentence against Servetus, may be added that which was given in, about two years afterwards, against Philibert Bertellier, who was a native of Geneva, and register there of one of the inferior courts of justice. He was first excommunicated by Calvin's consistory, and then a criminal sentence against him by the syndics and council, was publicly given and pronounced, accompanied with sound of trumpet: "That the said Philibert, *for the horrid and detestable crimes of conspiracy against the holy institution and christian reformation*, and against this city, and the public good and tranquillity thereof, be condemned to be bound and brought to the place of execution, there to have his head cut off, his body to be quartered, and his members to be set up in the four most eminent places round about this city, for an example to others, who shall commit *such crimes*." But having secretly fled out of the city, he was so fortunate as to escape the terrible punishment that awaited him. As Calvin, unquestionably, had the civil as well as the ecclesiastical power of Geneva under his direction, to him principally, may be attributed these dreadful persecutions. A little while before the death of this arch persecutor, two citizens were put to death for adultery: nor did these bloody deeds cease with his breath; his successors in his consistory, appear to have carefully copied his intolerant practices. A poor miserable maniac, in the succeeding century, professing himself a Jew, and perhaps, as his religion dictates, speaking contemptuously of Christ, was strangled and burnt. In short, the rack and the faggot became familiar modes

SECTION
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1553.

1555.

SECTION of punishment, as well for heresy as for treason, with the citi-
VIII. zens and syndics of this petty republic.*

1531. Amidst all this religious uproar throughout the continent of
Its intro- Europe, it was not to be expected that England would remain
duction into Eng- quiet; especially as there still subsisted in that kingdom consi-
land. derable remains of the Wickliffites, commonly called Lollards,
whose principles resembled those of Luther. But Henry VIII.,
among the most arbitrary tyrants that ever sat upon a throne,
was at first more unusually strenuous against the reformation
than any other monarch in Europe. He not only used his power
to suppress its entrance into England, but turned author, and
wrote a book against Luther and his doctrines, for which he received from Pope Leo the glorious title of *Defender of the Faith*.
But what the fanatic zeal of the Lollards and the Lutherans
could not effect, was soon produced by the youth, beauty, and
charms of the accomplished Anne Boleyn. Finding that her
virtue and modesty, prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion
for her in any other manner than by marriage, Henry formed
the resolution of being divorced from his then wife, Catherine
of Arragon. Some scruples, which had been before that time,
suggested about the propriety of marrying a brother's wife, as
Catherine had been, afforded some plausible grounds for him to
go upon. But as Pope Clement, who had succeeded Leo, was
entirely under the awe and influence of the emperor Charles V.
who opposed the divorce, on account of the honour and interests
of queen Catherine, who was his aunt, Henry found more
difficulty than he expected, in obtaining the formal consent of
the holy pontiff to annul his marriage. His passions, always
violent, not admitting of such delay, rather than wait such slow
proceedings in untying the knot, he chose to cut it, by throwing
off at once, all subjugation to the papal power. He caused his
own clergy to try the validity of the marriage, and to annul it as
unlawful, while at the same time, if not prior to it, he married
Anna Boleyn. Meanwhile, the Lutheran doctrines had, as it
were, stole into his dominions, and had gradually disposed his
parliament and his subjects, so far to join in the reformation as
to renounce all submission to the power and authority of the see
of Rome. With this disposition of the nation, Henry in some

* See Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. b. 11. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 37, p. 292, 300. Bayle's Hist. and Crit. dict. artic. Calvin, Bolsec, Bertellier. And note (M) at the end of this volume.

measure coincided, and connived at the introduction of the reformation into England. But, as the reformers on the continent had exhibited many symptoms of a republican spirit, especially in the furious insurrections of the Anabaptists in Germany, there was little probability, that so absolute a king would ever give favour or countenance to any doctrine, which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition. Besides, this political jealousy having gained much honor, as he thought, in his polemical writings against Luther, and elated with the most lofty opinion of his own erudition, he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his own religious sentiments. He seemed, therefore, to play together the two factions of Protestants and Catholics so as to suit his own purposes. The consequence was, that during his reign, few innovations on the doctrines of the ancient Catholic religion were allowed by him, except the renunciation of all papal authority in England, the dissolution of the monasteries and nunneries, and some little alteration in the mass-book.*

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On the death of Henry, his crown descended to his son Edward VI. who was then a minor of about nine years old. As he was incapable at that age of exercising the powers of royalty, his father had endeavoured to provide for that incapacity by appointing persons to administer the affairs of the government until his arrival at age. But the relations of Edward, by his mother's side, particularly Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, his uncle, contrived to set that appointment aside, and to have the wardship of young Edward, as well as the administration of the government, vested solely in him as lord protector. The duke was a zealous reformer, and consequently was careful that no other religious principles should be instilled into his nephew's mind, than those which he himself approved. The young king, therefore, as he grew up, manifested much zeal for the reformation. As the majority of men in most countries are apt to adopt those religious opinions to which preferment and profit are annexed, those early inclinations of young Edward had a powerful effect in converting the bulk of the nation to the modern heresies, especially among the courtiers, who with every probability, had now fairly calculated upon a total abolition of the ancient religion. The protector, therefore, aided by the zeal of young Edward, who, it is said, exhibited an uncommon under-

1547.

* Hume's Hist. of England, chap. 29, 30, 31, 32.

SECTION VIII.
 1547. standing for so young a man, found but little difficulty in effecting his design of establishing a hierarchy in England, which should partake, in a moderate degree, of the doctrines of the reformers in the rest of Europe. In these schemes he usually had recourse to the counsels of Cramner, archbishop of Canterbury, who being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and advocated the mode of bringing over the people by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrines and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. It is a feature of the reformation easily traced throughout its history, that whenever it prevailed over the opposition of the civil authority, it raged, like a torrent, disregarding any bounds. Such reformers, to show their detestation of the numerous and burthensome superstitions with which the Romish church was loaded, proscribed all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances, as impediments to their spiritual contemplations, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. But where it was introduced by the rulers of the government, as in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was still preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship. With this spirit, the English reformers proceeded; and by the aid of acts of parliament, during the short reign of Edward, completely established that hierarchy, denominated the Church of England, nearly in the same doctrines and form of worship in which it exists at this day.

1553. But, unfortunately for the English reformers, the life of Edward was but of short duration: he died in the year 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age. The crown descended to his sister Mary, who, notwithstanding all the earnest importunities of her brother, as well as of the reformed bishops, had still persisted in adhering to the ancient religion. Being educated by her mother, Catherine of Arragon, she had imbibed the strongest attachment to the Catholic communion, and the highest aversion to the new tenets. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, she was well fitted in mind to become a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinion of others. It was not long, therefore, before she discovered her intentions of not only abolishing the newly established religion, but of persecuting its professors. The good old christian principle of “compelling men to come in, that

the house may be filled,"* not a little recommended by Luther in Germany,† and ardently adopted and enforced by Calvin in Geneva, was now as zealously revived in England by Mary. She disliked the tedious mode of punishing heretics by prescribing to them oaths and *declarations of belief*, and depriving them in that manner of all political as well as religious liberty, as modern protestants do in another quarter of the world, than either Europe, Asia, or Africa. She took the shorter method of roasting them alive; by which means the faithful got rid of them at once. The beneficial effects of this mode of christian compulsion were soon perceived, in the general return of the English nation to the good old way of thinking in religious matters; except indeed a few, who made their escape into Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, and whom we shall presently see returning again from their foreign travels, much improved in their religious opinions, according to their own estimation.‡

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1553.

The triumph of the Catholics, and the sufferings of the reformers in England, were not however destined to be long. The cruel reign of Mary was short, and as she died without issue, her crown descended to her sister Elizabeth, whose mother being of the reformed religion, she herself adopted it with as ardent zeal, as Mary had that of the Catholic. In this singular series of events the English nation had to turn round again, and to try, if the heretical coat, which Mary had lately obliged them to put off, would still fit them, and once more become fashionable among them. Elizabeth found little difficulty in making this reconversion of the nation. Although the Catholics had in the preceding reign, by the bigotry of Mary, obtained the reins of power completely into their own hands, and had apparently reduced the nation back to the communion of the Catholic church, yet it seems to be clearly established by the concurrent events of the times, that a majority of the people were attached to the reformed religion. The queen proceeded cautiously and grad-

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* See the parable of the great supper, Luke xiv. 23.

† Luther allowed of persecution, as far as *banishment*; but Calvin thought it lawful to put heretics to death. Tindal's Cont. of Rapin's Hist. vol. 15, p. 274. See also an account of Luther's Persecution of his friend *Carlostadt*; Roscoe's Pontificate of Leo X. ch. 19.

‡ Leave was given to the celebrated Peter Martyr, and other reformers, who were foreigners, to quit the kingdom. Under this leave, many English, to the amount of a thousand, it is said, under pretence of being foreigners, withdrew from England. Rapin's Hist. of England, (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 117, and vol. 15, p. 276.

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SECTION VIII. to teach, might be set apart for that office by the election of the brethren, and by imposition of their hands; in like manner, by
 1592. their authority, he might be discharged from that function, and reduced to the rank of a private christian; that every person, when admitted a member of the church, ought to make a public confession of his faith, and to give evidence of his being in a state of favour with God; and that all the affairs of a church were to be regulated by the decision of the majority of its members.* As the tenets of this new sect wore a threatening aspect, not only to the established religion, but to the government itself, it began to be deemed necessary, that some more effectual checks than they had hitherto experienced, should be given to their progress. Some peculiar acts of sedition, blended with an extraordinary religious fanaticism, occurring about this time in the city of London, seem to have accelerated the interposition of the legislature. To this cause, among others, is attributed the statute of the 35 Eliz. ch. 1, made towards the latter end of her
 1593. reign;† by which it was enacted, “If any person, refusing to repair to the established church,” (as was required by preceding statutes, viz. 1 Eliz. ch. 2, 23 Eliz. ch. 1, 29 Eliz. ch. 6,) “shall, by printing or writing, advisedly or purposely, practice, or go about to move or persuade any one to deny, withstand, and impugn her majesty’s power and authority, in cases ecclesiastical, united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; or to that end or purpose, shall advisedly and maliciously, move or persuade any other person whatsoever, to forbear or abstain from coming to church, according to her majesty’s laws and statutes aforesaid; or to come to, or to be present at any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion; or if any person, so refusing to repair to some established church, as aforesaid, shall, either of himself or by the persuasion of any other, willingly join, or be present at any such conventicles, under pretence of religion, aforesaid; every such person, so offending, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be imprisoned, without bail or mainprize, until they shall conform, and make such open submission and declaration of their said conformity, as hereafter in this act is declared and appointed.” “Every such person, so not conforming himself, shall abjure and depart the realm; and in case of refusing to abjure, or of not departing after abjuration,

* Robertson’s Hist. of America, b. x.

† See note (N) at the end of this volume.

or of returning without license, he shall be guilty of felony, with-
out benefit of clergy.”

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1593.

This law, as was intended, affected both the Puritans and the Catholics; but was, without doubt, more particularly pointed at the former. As Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, was indebted to the English reformers for her support against the formidable opposition which she experienced from the Catholics, her principal attention had been hitherto directed to guard against the dangers of popery. But the variety of seditious acts, which were now exhibited by those fanatics, who were for pushing the reformation to its utmost extent, gave her just cause to apprehend, that her sovereignty was in equal danger from Puritanism. The number also, of these Puritans, had now increased so much, as in itself to be a sufficient cause of alarm to those who professed the established church. If we are to credit an assertion, said to have been made by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the house of commons, in the year 1592, (but one year prior to the making this statute of 35 Eliz.) the Brownists, as they were then called, amounted to no less than twenty thousand, divided into several congregations in Norfolk, Essex, and about London.* As it was evident also, that nothing would content them, but a total abolition of the established religion, called the Church of England, not even indeed an unlimited indulgence in the exercise of their own, it was not to be wondered, that Elizabeth and her clergy should consider themselves as contending for their existence, and that these enemies of their power should feel the full force of their resentment. The persecution, if it may be so called, which these sectaries experienced, during the few remaining years of Elizabeth's reign, seems, therefore, to have been the necessary result of such a state of things.

On the accession of James to the throne of England, both the
Papists and the Puritans had conceived high hopes of some
happy change, each in their own favour. The Papists could not
believe, that a prince, who had never expressed any hatred
to them, should suddenly alter his mind, and choose to tread in
the steps of Elizabeth. The Puritans imagined, that James,
having been educated in their religion, that is the Presbyterian,
and professed it all his life, till he arrived in England, would be
propitious to them. They expected, that he would at least abate
the rigour of the laws against them, if not reform many of the

1603.

State of
religious
parties in
England,
on the ac-
cession of
James I.

* See Tindal's Cont. of Rapin's Hist. vol. 15, p. 278.

SECTION faults they had found in the Church of England. Both were de-
 VIII. ceived, but the last much more than the first. Of the Catholics,
 1603. James disliked only the Jesuits, and such as were too servilely at-
 tached to the court of Rome, and the prerogative of the pope. But to the Puritans in general, he conceived a most violent hatred, especially as he thought that he discerned in them a strong inclination towards republicanism. As they were usually very familiar with their Maker, in their prayers to him, he was naturally induced to suppose, that they would take still greater liberties with him as their earthly sovereign. They both, however, presented their petitions to him. To the Catholics he answered, that he thought himself obliged to support what he found established in the kingdom. To the Puritans, he granted a pretended opportunity of justifying their principles before him, by appointing a conference to be held in his presence, of which he himself was to be moderator, between some of their principal ministers and elders* and some bishops and divines of the established church. The victory, as was to have been expected, being adjudged by him to the latter, the consequence was, that he ordered, by proclamation, the laws against non-conformists to be put in strict execution.

The court of "high commission for ecclesiastical affairs," a most odious tribunal, began now also to act against the Puritans with more severity and less control from the courts of common law, than they had done in the former reign. It was about
 1605. this time, that archbishop Bancroft exhibited his celebrated *Articuli Cleri*,† in which he enumerates many grievances of the clergy, arising from the power exercised by the courts of common law in granting writs of prohibition to the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, and writs of *habeas corpus* for persons imprisoned by them; among which courts, that of the "high commission" was the most prominent. This tribunal had been originally instituted in the reign of Henry VIII. as a substitute for the former power of the pope, and had been revived under the statute of 1 Eliz. ch. 1, which defined *heresy*, and authorised the queen to appoint commissioners, to sit as judges thereof in this highest ecclesiastical court. But, throughout the whole of her reign its authority is said to have been exercised

* These ministers and elders, appear to have been of the Presbyterian class of Puritans, and not Brownists. Rapin's Hist. of England, (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 18.

† See them at large in Coke's 2 Inst. p. 601.

with great moderation;* which appears to have been principally owing to the control of the courts of law.† King James, however, being evidently prejudiced against the common law,‡ and having a high opinion of his own talents as a theologian, abetted and supported the bishops in the extent of their claims to an uncontrolled jurisdiction over all matters of heresy and religion.§ The Puritans, therefore, now became liable to be harassed not only with fines and imprisonment, by the common law courts, for non-conformity, but to have their religious tenets examined by this high commission court, according to the the test of heresy prescribed by the statute.|| The rigorous penalties of abjuration of the realm, or death as a felon, in certain cases, under the before mentioned statute of 35 Eliz. also hung over their heads. But it will surprise the reader at this day, after reading these severe denunciations against the Puritans, unjustifiable in-

* Rapin's Hist. of England, (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8. p. 78.

† Lord Coke affirms, (4 Inst. 332,) that although there might have been many instances, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, wherein the high commission court exercised the power of fine and imprisonment, especially against the weaker sort, yet, as often as complaint had been made, the highest courts of common law always relieved them according to law and justice.

‡ It is said, that he had dropped expressions of his intention to establish the *civil* law in the room of the *common* law. Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 77, 79. It is no small eulogium on the common law, that the advocates for arbitrary power, whether it is to be exercised by a mob or a king, have an invincible antipathy to this system of jurisprudence. The great securities for personal liberty and private property, which it upholds, are sad stumbling blocks in their way.

§ For further information with respect to this curious contest, which took place about this time, between the spiritual and temporal courts in England, see the several notes of cases on that subject in Lord Coke's 12th Rep. Also his 2 Inst. 601, and 4 Inst. 330. However censurable Coke's conduct was, in many instances, while he was attorney-general, particularly on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, which he made, when he became chief justice, against not only the arbitrary power assumed by the "high commission" and other ecclesiastical courts, but even against the lawless exertion of prerogative by the king himself, does him infinite honour. This independent conduct, however, in a few years, evenuated in the loss of his place of chief justice.

|| The statute of 1 Eliz. ch. 1, defines heresy to be, "only such matter or cause as heretofore have been determined to be heresie, by the authority of the *canonical scriptures*, or by any general council wherein the same was declared heresie by the express and plain words of the said *canonical scriptures*." As the almost innumerable variety of sects of christian religion unquestionably arises from their various modes of construing these "canonical scriptures," we are unavoidably led to join Mr. Justice Blackstone in his remark on, this definition—"that it would not have been the worse, to have defined it in terms still more precise and particular; as a man continued still liable to be burnt, for what perhaps he did not understand to be heresy, till the judge so informed him."

SECTION VII. deed, upon any other principle than self-preservation, and after a minute search through the pages of the best historians of those times, when he finds considerable difficulty in discovering one solitary instance, where a Puritan was either burnt as a heretic or hung as a felon, merely for his religion. The instances of Udal and Penry, mentioned by Hume,* were cases of *sedition libels*, punishable with death under an abominable statute of 23 Eliz. They were instances of the arbitrary exertion of the prerogative in the execution of a most tyrannical law against a *political* crime. The two Flemish Anabaptists, burnt as heretics, in her reign, had no connexion with those species of Puritans denominated Brownists, who are the subjects of our present inquiry; especially, as these Brownists, or their successors in New England, subsequently considered Anabaptists in the same point of view: and the two Arians, who suffered at the stake for heresy, in the reign of James, were alike unconnected with the Brownists. Denying the divinity of Christ, or at least his consubstantiation with the Father, it is not probable, that such orthodox christians as the Brownists would have treated them with greater leniency, had it been in their power. In corroboration of this, the remarks of Hume, upon the same subject, may with propriety be quoted: "Had the king," says he,† "been disposed to grant the Puritans a full toleration for a separate exercise of their religion, it is certain, from the spirit of the times, that this sect itself would have despised and hated him for it, and would have reproached him with lukewarmness and indifference in the cause of religion. They maintained that they themselves were the only pure church; and that their principles and practices ought to be established by law; and *and that no others ought to be tolerated*. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the administration, at this time, could with propriety deserve the appellation of persecutors, with regard to the Puritans."

Suffering, as they certainly did, during the reigns both of Elizabeth and James, by fines and imprisonment, for their non-attendance at the established church, and now liable to be treated as heretics, by the high commission court, or compelled to abjure the realm, under the penalties of the statute before mentioned, the only alternative left for them seemed to be conformity or a voluntary exile. From the small proportion which the

* See his Appendix to queen Elizabeth's reign.

† See his Appendix to the reign of James I.

number of those who subsequently emigrated to Holland, bore to the whole of their society, at that time in the kingdom, we may infer that an exterior conformity was adopted by a very large majority of them. Perhaps, conciliatory methods, blended with compulsion, might also have been practised towards them; for we find that some of them were not proof against either temptation or persecution. Their founder and leader, Brown, either frightened by the terrors of the law, or allured by the comforts of a good living, which, it seems, he afterwards accepted, surrendered the glory of heading a religious party, for a snug benefice in the established church. Others, however, stuck to their tenets with a more consistent obstinacy. From their own account of themselves, as handed down to us by the successors of their sect in America, they must have existed in considerable numbers, about this time, in the north of England, particularly in Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. They had there, it seems, formed themselves into two distinct bodies or churches. Over one of them Mr. John Smith presided as pastor; over the other Mr. John Robinson.* Preferring a voluntary banishment from their native country to a conformity to the discipline of the established church, Robinson and a few of his followers stole away by degrees, (for it seems they were not permitted openly to leave the kingdom,†) to Am-

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* In the Extracts from the Plymouth Records, published in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 350, are the following passages on this subject: "These people became two distinct bodyes, or churches, in regard of distance of place, and did congregate severally, for they were of several townes and villages; some in Nottinghamsheire, some in Lankisheire, and some in Yorksheire, where they bordered nearest together. In the one of these churches, besides others of note, was Mr. John Smith, a man of able giftes, and a good preacher, whoe afterwards was chosen their pastour; but these afterwards falling into some errors in the low countreyes, there, for the most part, buryed themselves and their names.

"But in this other church, which must be the subject of our discourse, besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, whoe by his paines and diligence, had done much good, and under God had bin a meanes of the conversion of many; and alsoe that famous and worthy man, Mr. John Robinson, whoe afterwards was theire pastour for many years, until the Lord tooke him away by death; and alsoe Mr. William Brewster, a reverend man, afterwards was chosen an elder of the church, and lived with them untill old age and death."

Their dispersed situation, herein described, together with their danger in convening in large bodies, most probably first suggested that form of hierarchy which they afterwards adopted, to wit, that each *congregation* should be a distinct, *independent* church of itself.

† This prohibition appears to have been, to emigration in large companies, which was frequently attempted. See Extracts from the Plymouth Records, in

SECTION VIII. sterdam, as the states of Holland, after their independence, affected to allow a general toleration to all sects of religion. They

1607. had not lived at Amsterdam more than a year, before ambition, through which even angels are said to have fallen, set these "holy brethren and exiled saints" by the ears.* After Robinson and his flock had been there some time, they were followed, it seems, by another company from England, under the guidance of the before mentioned John Smith. As these congregations were not only distinct, but *independent* of each other, their pastors also claimed equal and distinct supremacy over their several and respective flocks. No subordination in their ecclesiastical government being acknowledged, these pastors, like little monarchs of two little neighbouring kingdoms, jealous of each other's power, soon found cause of quarrel. Whatever this cause was, it eventuated, it seems, either through the superior prowess of Smith, or the more humble meekness of Robinson, in the removal of the latter and his followers to Leyden.†

1609. During the residence of these people, both at Amsterdam and Leyden, it appears that they must have undergone considerable hardships. This, indeed, was naturally to have been expected. They were, most of them, poor country people, out of the north of England, raw and simple in their manners, and uninformed in their minds: fit subjects, indeed, for religious imposture. Many of them, perhaps, had been inured in their own country to the acquirement of their daily bread by personal labour, but they were now transplanted into another nation populous in the extreme, and with whom, consequently, the means of livelihood, even by labour, were more difficult to be attained. Added to this, they were unacquainted with the language, and ignorant of the manners and customs of the people, with whom they now dwelt. There is nothing extraordinary then, that the leaders of this little band of enthusiasts soon had cause to complain, "that many of their children were drawn away and departed from their parents; some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others worse courses, to the great grief of

Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 351, and Rapin's Hist. of England, (Tindal's ed.) vol. 8, p. 72.

* See the highly-wrought characters of "Tribulation, the pastor, and Ananias, the deacon," in Ben Jonson's *Alchymist*, written about this time.

† Extracts last cited, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1. p. 354, and Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, Appendix, No. 1, at the end of vol. 2.

their parents and dishonour of God.”* “They had just apprehensions, therefore, that their little community would soon become absorbed and lost in a foreign nation.”† The celebrity which commonly attaches to the name of a founder of a religious sect, was in great danger of being forever covered in obscurity. If, perchance, some historian of the country in which they dwelt, should deign to mention their fortunes or their sufferings, it would be only with the sentiment of pity and compassion, the most galling circumstance to an ambitious mind. The glory, or if it is insisted upon, “the natural and pious desire of perpetuating a church which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ, and a commendable zeal to propagate the gospel in the regions of the new world,” induced them to think of a removal to America.‡ But to what part of that grand continent, whether to the southern or northern region of it, was not at first determined by them. Sir Walter Raleigh had raised the fame of Guiana, about this time, and it is probable, that they had heard of the successful progress of the English in colonizing Virginia. The former was represented as “rich, fruitful, and blessed with perpetual spring; where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance and plenty, without any great labour or act of man;” but to this was opposed the unhealthiness of the country, and the propinquity of the Spaniards. Virginia was next thought of; and to this it was objected, “that if they lived amongst the English there planted, or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for their cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse, and if they lived too far off, they should have neither succour nor defence from them. At length, the conclusion was, to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia.”§

Having formed this resolution, they delegated (in the year 1617) two of their society, Robert Cushman and John Carver, to go to England, in order to negotiate with the Virginia company for their sanction in this proposed settlement, as also to as-

They form the design of removing to America.

1617. Negotiate with the Virginia company for that purpose.

* Extracts from the Plymouth Records, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 357-8.

† Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 197,

‡ *Ibid*, and see note (O) at the end of this volume.

§ Extracts from the Plymouth Records, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 360. “The general government of Virginia,” here meant, was that which took place under the second and third charters of Virginia before mentioned.

SECTION VIII. certain whether the king would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country. These agents found the Virginia company very desirous of the projected settlement in their American territory, and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they had power to convey. They found also friends to intercede with the king for them, particularly Sir Robert Naunton, who was then, or in the succeeding year, made one of the principal secretaries of state.* When Sir Robert urged to the king, that it was bad policy to unpeople his own kingdoms for the benefit of his neighbours, and that he could have no objection to grant them religious liberty in America, where they would still continue to be his subjects, and where they might extend his dominions, his majesty's answer is said to have been, that it was "a good and honest proposal;" but he positively refused to allow or tolerate them by his public authority under his seal, though he promised, that he would connive at them, and not molest them.† Their friends in England, notwithstanding this refusal, advised them to pursue their scheme of settlement, and gave it as their opinion that they would not be troubled.

1618. With this answer, the agents returned to Holland in the year following; but the king's refusal damped the ardour of their religious brethren, for a removal for some time. Debating upon the subject among themselves, it seemed to be at last, the opinion of a majority of them, that they might safely proceed without an express license of the king. Reasoning very justly on the king's character, they concluded, that if there was no security in the promise intimated, there would not be much greater certainty in a written confirmation of it: for if afterwards, there should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seal as broad as the house floor, (as the writer expresses it,) it would not serve the turn, as there would be means enough found to recal or reverse it. Wherefore, they resolved to despatch

* It is said in Rapin's Hist. of Eng. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 135,—that "Secretary Winwood dying about this time, (October 27th, 1617,) Sir Robert Naunton, a protestant, and Sir George Calvert, a papist, were made Secretaries." But from a late work, apparently authentic, entitled, "A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland, by Robert Beatson, L. L. D." it appears, that Sir John Herbert succeeded Sir Ralph Winwood, in 1617, as secretary, and that Sir Robert Naunton was made secretary in 1618, *vice* Herbert, and Sir George Calvert *vice* Sir Thomas Lake in 1619.

† Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 271. Extracts from the Plymouth Records, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 361.

messengers again, to conclude a contract with the Virginia company, and to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they could; as also to treat and agree with such merchants and other friends, as had manifested a disposition to hazard some capital in the adventure of such a voyage.

Their agents arriving again in England, in the succeeding year, (1619,) found the council and company of Virginia* so disturbed with factions and quarrels among themselves, as that no business of any importance could be transacted with them. These dissensions appear to have been founded on very frivolous grounds, if we are to believe the statement of them given by Robert Cushman, one of the agents for the Puritans.† It seems, that not long before the last agents had returned to England, Sir Thomas Smith repining at his many offices and troubles, wished the company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being treasurer and governor of the Virginia company; whereupon the company took occasion to dismiss him, and chose Sir Edwin Sands in his stead. But Sir Thomas, vexed it seems, at being so soon taken at his word, grew very angry, and raised a faction to cavil and contend about the election, and endeavoured to tax Sir Edwin with many things, that might not only disgrace him, but also either induce him to resign or disqualify him for the office.‡ What was the issue of these bickerings, Cushman does not state: but Sir Edwin continued in his office; and the affairs of the colony already planted in Virginia, seemed to have prospered unusually from his accession thereto.§ From

1619.
Dissensions in the
Virginia
company
occasion
delay.

* This council and company of Virginia, was composed of persons acting under the third charter of the South Virginia or first colony, sometimes called the London company. The North Virginia, or Plymouth company, appear at this time to have relinquished all further attempts at making settlements.

† See his letter dated May 8th, 1619, taken from the Plymouth Records, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 366, 368.

‡ It may, perhaps, not be unnecessary to mention, that this Sir Thomas was not the learned Sir Thomas Smith, who was so celebrated in the reign of queen Elizabeth. That gentleman died in August, 1577. See Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 404. This was probably some eminent merchant of London, and a city knight. He was appointed treasurer of the Virginia company by the king, in the body of the second charter of Virginia, of May 23, 1609; though provision was made by that charter, that such treasurer should afterwards be elected by a majority of the company, and the third charter seems to have confirmed that privilege.

§ Sir Edwin Sands (or Sandys,) is represented by Hume, (Hist. of England, note [DD] to chap. 45,) as "a man of the greatest parts and knowledge in England," at this time next to Sir Francis Bacon. It was, on Sir Edwin's suggestion, after he was at the head of the company as treasurer, that a freight of

SECTION VIII. 1619. his letter to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, of November 12th, 1617, he appears to have been friendly to their proposal of removing to America. It is couched in those polite and obliging terms, which the chief officer of such a company, who possessed liberal and generous sentiments, would have written.*

The extraordinary ill treatment of a certain captain Blackwell, towards some passengers of his ship, whom he carried about this time, as colonists in the settlement on James river, in Virginia, operated much in the discouragement of the intended removal of the Puritans.† However, a patent being at length obtained from the Virginia company, it was carried to Leyden for the consideration of the people there, with several proposals from English merchants and friends, for their transportation. By the advice of some friends, it seems, this patent was not taken in the name of any of the society at Leyden, but in the name of a certain John Wincob, or Wincoll, who was a servant in the family of the Countess of Lincoln.

1620. After mature deliberation, it was at last agreed, among the Puritans at Leyden, that a part of their congregation should go to America, in order to make preparation for the rest; and therefore, such as chose to become the first adventurers were requested to fit and prepare themselves for the voyage. Several of the congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank; which, together, with money received from other adventurers, enabled them to purchase a small vessel of sixty tons, and to hire in England another of one hundred and eighty tons, for their intended enterprise. In this smaller vessel, the first adventurers embarked at or near Leyden, for Southampton, where most of them were to re-embark on board the larger ship, called the May Flower. They were under the conduct and direction of William Brewster, the ruling elder of their church; for Robinson did not accompany them.‡ After their arrival at Southampton, their

Embark
for Ameri-
ca, and set-
tle in Ply-
mouth,
Massachu-
setts.

young women was sent over, in the year 1620, to the planters of Virginia, to be bought by them as wives, they being mostly destitute of families. The scheme succeeded so well, that it was repeated. It was probably also owing to him, that the commerce with the colony in Virginia, which had hitherto been monopolized by the treasurer and company, to the great depression of the colony as it was said, was in the same year laid open to all without restrictions. See Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 204, 266.

* See this letter and their answer in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1. p. 362.

† See Cushman's letter in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 362.

‡ Mr. Robinson's caution, in evading the accompaniment of his flock to America, seems to afford some ground to suspect that his "Catholicism," (though praised by Mr. Holmes in his note V. before cited, partook somewhat of that of

small ship being deemed unfit for sea, they were obliged all to em-
 bark on board the May Flower, in which they finally left En-
 gland on the sixth of September, 1620. After a boisterous pas-
 sage, they discovered on the ninth of November, the land of
 Cape Cod. Perceiving that they had been carried to the north-
 ward of the place of their destination, they stood to the south-
 ward, intending to find some place near Hudson's river for set-
 tlement. Falling, however, among shoals, they were induced,
 from this incident, together with the consideration of the ad-
 vanced season of the year, and the weakness of their condition,
 to relinquish that part of their original design. The master of
 the ship, influenced by the fears of the passengers, and their ex-
 treme solicitude to be set on shore, shifted his course to the
 northward. The real cause of his doing which has been alleged
 to have been, a reward clandestinely promised to him in Holland,
 if he would not carry the English to Hudson's river.* Be that
 as it may, steering again for the cape, the ship was clear of the
 danger before night; and the next day, a storm coming on, they

SECTION
 VIII.
 1620.

his prototype, Robert Brown. This seems to be confirmed by what Mr. Holmes, in the same note observes, that "at first indeed, he favoured the rigid separation from the Church of England; but, after his removal to Holland, *he was convinced of his mistake, and became ever after, more moderate in his sentiments respecting separation.*" And further, by what is said in Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, appendix No. 1. to vol. 2: "He was at first a thorough separatist, and Mr. Hubbard says, was transported with their principles so far as to publish his opinions against hearing any of the preachers of the Church of England, were they never so learned and pious, but *afterwards acknowledged his error in a judicious and Godly discourse.*" Although the American republic is indebted to these "mistakes" and "errors" for those populous and flourishing states, denominated New England, yet, as Mr. Robinson evidently had no such sublime ideas in contemplation, and, if he had, the end would not sanctify the means, these "mistakes" and "errors" seem to form a lesson to ambitious religionists, to be cautious in leading simple and ignorant country people into situations, wherein they must necessarily endure inexpressible hardships and misery.

* Although it is alleged by Morton, (New England Memorial 13,) that "Of this plot, betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence." To which Mr. Holmes, in his Annals, (vol. 1, p. 199,) appears to give entire credit: yet, as it is stated by Hutchinson, (Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. 1, p. 11,) that "the Dutch laboured to persuade them (the English at Leyden,) to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West India Company;" the fact is stated as above with some hesitation. It is possible, however, that as these adventurers preferred being under the government and protection of the English, and their designed place of settlement was near Hudson's river, but to be considered as a part of the government of Virginia, the Dutch might be averse to having them as neighbours in that way, and for that reason bribed the captain to carry them farther from their settlement at New York. See the Appendix No. 1, to Hutchinson's Hist. vol. 2.

SECTION dropped anchor in Cape Cod harbour, where they were secure
VIII. from winds and shoals.

1620.

Finding the harbour to be in the forty-second degree of north latitude, and therefore beyond the territory of the South Virginia company, they perceived that their charter, received from that company, was here useless.* The consequence of this inutility of their charter, was, that they were destitute of the powers usually held necessary to institute a government. The danger of this situation was strongly enforced upon the minds of the more prudent part of them, by some symptoms of faction and disorganization exhibited during the passage among the inferior class of them, who were heard to mutter, that when they should get on shore, one man would be as good as another, and they would do as they pleased. It was, therefore, judged expedient, that before disembarkation, they should combine themselves into a body politic, to be governed by the majority. A written instrument, drawn for that purpose, was accordingly subscribed on board the ship, on the eleventh day of November, by forty-one of their number, who are supposed to have been all the males of age in the company, which amounted to one hundred and one persons.† John Carver was then unanimously chosen their governor, for one year. The principal intention of this written instrument of express covenant, is said to have been "of a mere moral nature, that they might remove all scruples of inflicting necessary punishments, even capital ones, seeing all had voluntarily subjected themselves to them." It does not appear, however, notwithstanding the expediency of this express compact, that the leaders of these colonists considered themselves so entirely brought back to a state of nature, and so totally emancipated from all former obligations, as to acknowledge no superior political power, and to be independent of all other governments. Although the most of them had been residents for some time in Holland, and therefore, in modern construction, were now *expatriated* from their native country; yet they seem to have considered themselves a English subjects, and entitled to all the benefits and privileges resulting from the common law of England,

* This seems to be a better and stronger reason, why they never made any subsequent use of their charter from the South Virginia company, than that which has been usually assigned by historians; that is, because Wincob, the patentee, never went to New England.

† See this instrument in Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. 2, appendix No. 1, and in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 119.

and such English statutes, as were applicable to their local situation. This indeed might possibly have been so deemed, as being the consequence of both their contract with the Virginia company, and the permission of the king to settle in North America. They are said to have, therefore, "resolved to make the laws of England their rule of government, until they should agree upon laws suited to their peculiar circumstances.*"

SECTION
VIII.
1620.

Several of their principal men now went in their boat or shallop to search for a suitable place where they might fix their first settlement. After ranging for some days about the bay of Cape Cod, they entered a harbour, which after sounding they found to be fit for shipping, and after exploring the land adjacent to the harbour, they judged it a convenient situation for a settlement, and returned with the welcome intelligence to the ship. They proceeded with the ship to the newly discovered port, where they arrived on the sixteenth day of December, a very improper season of the year, indeed, for the commencement of a colonial settlement, in such a climate. But necessity seemed now to have left them no choice, and as soon as they could erect habitations to receive their company, they were landed. The place, it seems, was called by the natives Patuxet, but is now well known by the name of Plymouth, in the State of Massachusetts. From this small beginning, time has at length produced those now populous States, which lie to the northward of New York. It is unnecessary for us to pursue their history any farther in this place.

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. 2, Appendix No. 1.

SECTION IX.

Causes of the severe statutes against Roman Catholics in England, during the reign of Elizabeth—Their conduct on the accession of James I.—The cause of additional statutes against them—The excesses of the Catholics and Puritans give rise to political parties—First scheme of a colony of English Catholics in Newfoundland, under the patronage of Sir George Calvert—Sir George Calvert created lord Baltimore, visits Virginia, with further views of colonization—The conduct of the Virginians towards him—Differences among the Catholics with respect to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy—Lord Baltimore forms the scheme of settling a colony in Maryland—Settlement of a colony of Swedes on the Delaware—The Virginians oppose the lord Baltimore's scheme—William Claybourne's claim—Lord Baltimore returns to England, and relinquishes his views of a settlement on Newfoundland—Obtains the promise of a grant of the province of Maryland, which is given on his death to his son Cecilius.

SEC. IX. While the Puritans had thus sought an asylum in America, from the rigour of those laws which the government of England, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, had thought proper to be enacted against non-conformists to their established church, the Papists, who were equally obnoxious to the majority of the nation, had now begun also, from similar motives, to look about for a place of refuge. But it will be proper to examine a little into the precedent causes, which brought them into this situation.

It must be acknowledged by every candid Catholic, at this day, that the church of Rome, from the third century to the French revolution, having considered itself as the only true christian church, has uniformly held that all persons who ventured to promulgate and maintain religious doctrines contrary to those which the ancient church are supposed to have received from Jesus Christ, were to be deemed heretics, liable, upon the principles of christianity, to the punishment of death. Intolerance, therefore, with respect to other sects of the christian religion, seems to have been a principle necessarily inherent in the papal hierarchy. Those who professed this system of religion, seem to have been bound by the obligation of their religious profession, to apply the strong arm of persecution, in order to correct any presumptuous aberration from the doctrines of their church. It appears, therefore, that the reformers in general entertained irrational expectations, when they demanded a toleration of their

opinions. It was, without doubt, under these impressions, that the English reformers, especially in the reign of Elizabeth, renounced such expectations, as visionary hopes. The cruel persecutions also, which they experienced during the reign of Mary, taught them what they were to expect, should the Papists retain their power in that nation. There were, moreover, certain principles maintained by the Papists on the continent of Europe, at the period of time of which we are now treating, which were totally inconsistent with any thing like good government. That the pope had a power of excommunicating kings who refused to obey his directions, and that thereupon all subjects of such king so excommunicated, were absolved from their allegiance to him; and besides, that any of the subjects of such king might privately assassinate him, and for such deed not only obtain the pardon and blessing of his holiness, but thereby merit an everlasting crown of glory in heaven; and moreover, that it was lawful to put heretics to death by private assassination, without the formality of legal trial and public execution; that these were political as well as religious tenets, held by the greater number of the zealous Roman Catholics until the latter end of the seventeenth century, cannot possibly be denied.* The horrid massacre of the French Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year 1572, and the assassinations of two kings of France, Henry III. and IV. and that of the prince of Orange were all in the sixteenth century, avowedly justified on these principles.† Much cause, therefore,

* See note (P) at the end of the volume.

† The assassins of the two kings of France were evidently instigated thereto more by their religious tenets than the political principle of tyrannicide. Sermons were preached, and books were written, to prove that, these princes being heretics, and excommunicated by the pope, it was meritorious, even in individuals, to remove them. Nor do these tenets appear to have been peculiar only to the Jesuits. John Clement, who assassinated Henry III. was a jacobin monk, of the order of *Dominicans*. The whole convent knew his design, before he went on the execution of it, and approved it; and pope Sixtus Vth, of hypocritical notoriety, was not ashamed, in a full consistory, to magnify the holy zeal of this bloody villian, and to extol his courage and piety beyond that of Judith. The reward set on the head of William, prince of Orange, (the Washington of the states of Holland,) by Philip II. of Spain, was, perhaps, the real motive of both the assassins who attempted his life; but the first of them, who only wounded him, had confessed his intention to a *Dominican* priest, and received from him absolution, and a promise of eternal reward. The massacre of St. Bartholomew's was done by the orders of the king, (Charles IX.) who openly avowed it, and was complimented upon it by the parliament of Paris, and pope Gregory XIII. went in a procession on foot, to a church in Rome, to give public thanks on the news thereof, and ordered a jubilee over all Europe to be observed, in consideration of that great blow given to the heretics. See *Bayle's Hist.*

SEC. IX. had the people of England to apprehend danger in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, had the crown of that kingdom descended, on the death of Mary, to any other claimant than Elizabeth. Hence, therefore, the severe laws which were enacted against Papists during the reign of that princess, were naturally to have been expected. Not that the free enjoyment of religious opinions is not a natural right, inherent in every individual member of society, but if political opinions are so mingled with religion, as to affect the just as well as necessary administration of the government, without the preservation of which mankind cannot well, or at least happily exist, and those who profess such opinions are constantly endeavouring to put them into action and practice, through the medium of religion; reason and common sense dictate the necessity of suppressing the exercise of even such ostensible rights, by such laws as shall be adequate to the purpose.* Whether the several statutes enacted against popish recusants, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, transcended these ends and purposes, and were unnecessarily severe, is quite a different question from that which involves the position just mentioned.

1558. Causes of the severe statutes against Roman Catholics, in England, during the reign of Elizabeth. In confirmation of these observations, one of the first incidents which occurred on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, before any parliament had sat, or statutes been enacted, deserves notice.—Edward Carne, the English ambassador, at Rome, had orders to notify to the pope, (Paul IV.) Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession to the crown. This haughty high priest, whose bigotry of mind and austerity of temper appear to have increased in his extreme old age, replied to the ambassador, "That it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent; that England was a fief of the holy see; that being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; that she deserved no favour at his hands; but if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would show a fatherly affection for her."† In these more en-

Dict. art. Boucher, Chastel, Guignard, Hen. III. and Sanctesius. Also, the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. 24, p. 271, 328, 354, 361, 435.—Vol. 26, p. 368, 398.—Vol. 31, p. 91.

* Voltaire well observes upon the dispute between the Gallican church and the pope, in the seventeenth century, before mentioned, "that it was the cause of the people, whose repose requires, that their sovereign be independent of any foreign power." *Age of Louis XIV.* ch. 31.

† Rapin's *Hist. of England*, (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 183. Hume's *Hist.* ch. 38. This pope refused, but a few months before this, nearly upon the same

lightened days, no person can understand this in any other sense, than an assumption of power by a high priest of a particular sect of christians, to dispose of the civil government, and with it, the people of an independent nation. SEC. IX.
1558.

The barbarous association entered into, in a few years afterwards, between the courts of France and Spain, at their celebrated interview at Bayonne, in the year 1565, for a total extermination of the Protestants by fire and sword, (of which the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, before mentioned, was, without a doubt, a consequence,) affords strong indication of the principles of the Catholics at this era of time: which association seems to be too well authenticated in history, to admit of doubt.* 1565.

As a further proof of the improper intermixture of religion and politics, by the Catholics of these times, may be mentioned the bull of excommunication, issued by pope Pius V. against Elizabeth, bearing date February 25, 1569, wherein, after declaring, "that, as successor of St. Peter, he was constituted by Him that reigneth on high, over all nations and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruate, plant, and build," he proceeds thus: "We deprive her of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolve all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever also have sworn to her, from their oath and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience."† It was evident, from the concurrent events of the times, that this bull was intended to foment plots and insurrections against her, and particularly to forward a rebellion of her subjects, which was at that time in agitation in the north of England. In pursuance of these objects, one John Felton had the hardihood to affix the bull to the gates of the bishop of London's house; and scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was arrested, tried, condemned, and hanged: and thereby obtained the empty repute of a glorious martyrdom.‡ 1569.

principles, to confirm the election of Ferdinand I. of Austria, as emperor of Germany, on the resignation of Charles V. "contending that the pope, as the vicegerent of Christ, was entrusted with the keys both of celestial and terrestrial government; and that from him the imperial jurisdiction was derived." Robertson's History of Charles V. b. 12.

* Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 261. Hume's Hist. ch. 39.

† Woodeson's Lect. vol. 2, p. 535.

‡ Hume's Hist. ch. 40. Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 350.

SEC. IX.

1585.

Not content with these means of dethroning the queen, and thereby restoring themselves to their former ascendancy in the state, the Catholics had recourse to the inhuman scheme, of causing her to be assassinated. One William Parry, an English Catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon, for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by a Jesuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action, than to take away the life of his sovereign and his benefactress. The pope's nuncio at Milan, when consulted by him, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though still agitated with doubts, went to Paris, with an intention of passing over to England, and executing his bloody purpose. He was here also encouraged in the design by one Thomas Morgan, an English Catholic refugee, then residing in France, of great credit in the party; and though some other Catholic priests told him that the enterprise was criminal and impious, yet having received the further encouragement of the pope's nuncio at Paris, he determined to persist in his resolution. Before he left Paris, he wrote a letter to the pope on the subject; in which he communicated his intention to the holy father, and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. This letter being conveyed to the pope, through the cardinal Como, he received an answer from the cardinal; by which, he found that his purpose was extremely applauded, and he went over to England, with a full design of carrying it into execution. But, as Hume on this occasion justly observes, "so deeply are the sentiments of morality engraved in the human breast, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of false religion, totally to efface them." This bigotted assassin resolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the persecutions under which the Catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen: assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her; and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to give the Romanists some more indulgence in the exercise of their religion. But, lest he should be tempted by the opportunity, to assassinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offensive weapon. He even found means to be elected a member of parliament; and having made a vehement harangue

against the severe laws enacted against the Catholics, was committed to custody. This circumstance, together with that of his perusal of a book, then lately written and published by a doctor William Allen, afterwards a cardinal, wherein it was attempted to be maintained, that it was not only lawful, but honourable, to kill princes excommunicated, confirmed him in his former resolution.* Having obtained his liberty, he communicated his intention to a person of the name and ancient family of the Nevils, who at first entered zealously into the design, and was determined to have a share in the merits of its execution. But Nevil, becoming in the mean time, next heir to the title of the earl of Westmoreland, which had been forfeited by the last earl, he conceived hopes, that by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours. He therefore, betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put the encouragement he had received both from the pope and the cardinal, beyond all question.†

These incidents are here mentioned, only as a few of the most prominent proofs, with which the historians of those times abound, of the improper conduct of the English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth; which, if not a complete jurisdiction, yet greatly palliates the injustice, if any, in enacting those rigorous statutes against popery, which took place in her reign, and which could not have been justified on any other principle.‡

On the death of Elizabeth, and on the accession of James to the throne, the English Catholics, as before observed, had cherished ardent hopes, that he would restore them to their lost influence and power. Disappointed in these expectations, and

1603.
Their conduct on the accession of James I.

* This cardinal Allen was originally an English Catholic, bred at the university of Oxford, but shortly after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, and the restoration of the reformed religion, he retired from England, and had the principal hand in founding the English Catholic college at Douay, on the borders of France and Flanders, in the year 1568, where probably he wrote his above mentioned mischievous book. It was from here, as well as from similar institutions at St. Omer's and Leige, that the Catholics in England were supplied with priests during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. He was made a cardinal by pope Sixtus V. about the time of the famous invasion of England by the Spanish armada, in 1558, at the particular request of Philip II., to whom this pope had given the investiture of England, after having excommunicated Elizabeth, and deprived her as far as he could, of her right to the kingdom. See Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 415, and the Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 26, p. 388.

† Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 7, p. 446. Hume's Hist. ch. 41.

‡ See note (Q) at the end of the volume.

SEC. IX. surprised and enraged, to find James on all occasions, express
 1603. his intention of strictly executing the laws already enacted against them, and moreover actually giving his royal assent to further rigorous statutes against them,* a few of the most zealous among them began to revolve in their minds some means of liberating themselves from the persecution they experienced. In the fury of these sentiments, they meditated that horrible contrivance usually denominated the gunpowder plot: "an event," as Hume observes, "one of the most memorable that history has conveyed to posterity, and containing at once a singular proof both of the strength and weakness of the human mind; its widest departure from morals, and most steady attachment to religious prejudices; a fact as certain, as it appears incredible." As this scheme consisted in blowing up by gunpowder, the two houses of parliament, while the king was delivering his speech to them from the throne, the excellence of it, as boasted of by them, was, that by a sort of retributive justice, it would destroy at one blow, the authors of their sufferings, and bury their principal enemies in one common ruin. "They flattered themselves with the vindictive pleasure of beholding those sacrilegious walls, in which were passed the edicts for proscribing their church, tossed into a thousand fragments." Their scheme, however, was discovered in a very extraordinary manner, within a few days prior to its intended execution, and consequently became abortive.

1605-6. The parliament met in safety, and notwithstanding the king's
 The causes of additional statutes against them. speech to them contained a softening apology for the Catholics, they proceeded to enact laws, not only for the attainder of such offenders in the late plot, as had made their escape out of the kingdom, but "for the better discovering and repressing of popish recusants," and "to prevent and avoid dangers" arising from such recusants.† By these statutes, additional disabilities, restraints, penalties and forfeitures, were imposed upon the English Catholics beyond what they had been before liable to. And thus, by an intemperate zeal and injudicious conduct, not comporting with any sound principles of morality, however consistent it might be with their religious tenets, they brought on themselves a greater degree of intolerance from the Protestants towards them, than they would otherwise have experienced.

* See the statutes of 1 Jac. I. ch. 4 and 25.

† See the statutes of 3 Jac. I. ch. 4 and 5.

It does not appear that any other statutes against Catholics were enacted during the remainder of James's reign. Those already mentioned, both of this and the preceding reigns, contained severities enough to keep them in all due subjection, had those laws been executed on all occasions with the utmost rigour. But it seems to have been one of the greatest anxieties of James's life, to exculpate himself in the eyes of the rest of Europe, from the charge of being a persecutor of the Catholics, though he heartily joined in the suppression of the Puritans. He accordingly, therefore, pardoned popish recusant convicts, or remitted their forfeitures, as often as the clamor of his Protestant subjects would permit him to do it with any seeming propriety. As the house of commons during his reign, was composed entirely of members professing to be of the established Protestant Church, among whom were many strongly tinctured with Puritanism, and as the administration of justice and the execution of the laws, would necessarily be entrusted to many zealous Protestants, it soon became impossible for the Catholics to live in the kingdom, and at the same time openly profess their religion. Whenever, therefore, any great incident occurred relative to persons of that persuasion, the nation seemed to feel an uncommon alarm. The assassination of Henry IV. of France, which happened not long afterwards, had such an effect upon the English nation, that James, instigated in all probability not a little by a sense of his own personal danger, was under a necessity of issuing his proclamation, commanding all jesuits and priests to depart the kingdom, and that no recusants should come within ten miles of the court. This tragical event in France, so roused the antipathy of the Protestants to the Catholics, that the laws began now to be executed against them with increased rigour and severity. The king's absurd obstinacy, in persisting in his endeavours to marry his son Charles to a princess of the royal family of Spain, was another constant source of uneasiness to his Protestant subjects. They dreaded the consequences of such a union, to their party in England; and as the increased influence and power of the house of commons, became obviously discernable towards the latter part of his reign, insomuch that larger strides towards that political liberty, which they afterwards, in Charles's reign, more boldly assumed, were for the first time manifested by that body, in a remonstrance to the king, on the then state of affairs. Jealous of the extraordinary propensity of James to fa-

SEC. IX.

1606.

1610.

SEC. IX. 1621. your the Catholics, they urged to him in a bolder tone than any house of commons had ever before used towards a sovereign of England, the dangers which they apprehended to the Protestant religion. Among the many *causes* of those great and growing mischiefs which they apprehended, they represented "the develish positions and doctrines whereon popery is built, and taught with authority to their followers, for advancement of their temporal ends.

"The expectation of the popish recusants of the match with Spain, and feeding themselves with great hopes of the consequences thereof.

"The interposing of foreign princes, and their agents, in the behalf of popish recusants, for connivance and favour unto them.

"Their forfeitures compounded for, at such mean rates, as amounted to less than a toleration.

"The licentious printing and dispersing of popish books, even in the time of parliament.

"The swarms of priests and Jesuits, the common incendiaries of all christendom, dispersed in all parts of the kingdom.

"And that the popish religion had such a restless spirit, that if it should once get but a connivance, it would press for a toleration: if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; and from thence they would aspire to superiority, and will never rest until they get a subversion of the true religion."

Among a variety of other remedies for these evils, they pressed his majesty "to put in execution the laws for preventing of dangers by popish recusants."*

The excesses of the Catholics and Puritans, give rise to political parties.

It is at this session of parliament, that historians have fixed the era of the rise of the two distinct political parties in England, which have subsisted even to this day, under different denominations. Those who opposed the absolute power, which the king now claimed, formed soon afterwards what was known by the name of the *country-party*, and received the powerful aid of the Puritans. The *court-party* were principally composed of the clergy of the established church, those also who enjoyed offices under the crown, and the vast body of Catholics, which secretly lurked in the kingdom.† But as, happily for the English nation and their descendants in America, those who advocated

* Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 191.

† Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's hist.) vol. 8, p. 182. Hume's Hist. note (LL) to ch. 48.

the rights of the people, as exercised by their representatives in parliament, finally prevailed, so even, throughout the remainder of the reign of James, they found themselves able to maintain that firm position which they had now taken in support of their religious as well as civil and political liberties. For the reasons before suggested, it became necessary, in their estimation, that the English Catholics, who certainly were but a minor part of the nation, should yield up their religious rights, when the enjoyment of them became manifestly incompatible with those of a majority of the people. It was in this state of things, that parliament now pressed the execution of the laws heretofore made against them.

SEC. IX.
1621.

But James was too tenacious of what he deemed his prerogative, to give way so readily. Soon after he had prorogued and dissolved parliament, in order to please the king of Spain, and to promote the projected match between his son and the infanta, in defiance of the law, as well as the before mentioned remonstrance of the commons, he issued writs to the judges and justices of the peace, to release all the imprisoned recusants. Deeming himself head of the English Church, and thereby possessed of supreme ecclesiastical power, he wished to have it considered, that the toleration of Catholics was a measure of that nature. But not only the religious Puritans murmured at this proceeding of the king; the friends of civil liberty were alarmed at so important an exertion of prerogative: for it does not appear to have been definitively ascertained, at this period of time, whether the king had not a power of dispensing with penal statutes.* This last session of parliament, however, appears to have formed a crisis, from which the declension of the royal prerogative under the English constitution is manifestly visible, as the Catholics had, prior to this period, by the patronage of the king, gained such an evident ascendancy in their influence in the affairs of the nation, as to render the situation of the Puritans so uncomfortable, as to prompt them to emigration, so now the Puritans, in their turn, through the increased power and privileges of the house of commons, of which many of them, or at least many of those who inclined much to favour them, were mem-

* Rapin says, that some stop was put to these dispensing mandates or writs of the king, by the advice of the lord keeper, Williams. Rappin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 261. But this was subsequent to the period of time we now speak of, and at the time of the ratification of the Spanish treaty of marriage, in 1623.

SEC. IX. bers, began to be enabled to retort upon the Catholics, their own
 1621. intolerant system. By their clamours for a vigorous execution of the laws against Papists, it became now necessary for them also to look about for a place of refuge.

First
 scheme of
 a colony
 of English
 Catholics,
 in New-
 foundland,
 under the
 patronage
 of Sir
 George
 Calvert.

It was in this situation of things, that Sir George Calvert, who was now one of the principal secretaries of State, and of the Roman Catholic religion, influenced probably by the recent example of the emigration of the Puritans to New England, contemplated a settlement of Catholics in Newfoundland. As this nobleman was subsequently the founder of the colony of Maryland, it would be highly desirable to give a satisfactory sketch of some of the minutiae of his life; but as the historians, who have touched upon the affairs of his two colonies, have been sparing in their accounts of either his character or his life, and the few American biographers, who have briefly mentioned him, have given barren and contradictory accounts of him, it is impossible, at this day, to gratify the reader with many interesting incidents relative to him. He is said to have been descended from a noble family in Flanders, but he himself an Englishman, born at a place called Kipling* in Yorkshire, England, in the year 1582. It appears that he received or finished his education at Trinity college, Oxford; where he took his bachelor's degree in the year 1597, having manifested some proficiency in literature, especially the classics, by writing and publishing in the preceding year, a Latin poem, entitled, "*Carmen funbre in D. Hen. Untonum.*" After receiving his diploma at Trinity college, he set out to the continent on his travels, and made the tour of Europe; as is still the usage of young men of fortune and family in England; from which we may infer, that either he or his parents then possessed a considerable estate. At his return to England, which is said to have been "in the beginning of the reign of James the first,"† he obtained the place of one of the under secretaries or clerks in the office of Sir Robert Cecil, who had been one of the principal secretaries of state at the death of Elizabeth, and who, by artful management, had contrived to be continued in that office by king James. After passing some years in this subordinate

* No place called *Kipling*, (said to be the birth place of Sir George Calvert, as above mentioned, in both Belknap's and Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. Art. Calvert,) appears on any map or in any common description of Yorkshire. It may therefore be supposed to have been erroneously written or printed for *Riplay*, which is a small town in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

† James the first was proclaimed at London on the 24th of March, 1602-3.

situation, as it would appear, so as to make himself well acquainted with the business and affairs of state; Sir George obtained the king's favour so far as to be made one of the principal secretaries of state in the room of Sir Thomas Lake, in the year 1619, prior to which he had received the order of knighthood.* His knowledge of public business and his diligence and fidelity conciliated the regard of the king, so as to induce his majesty to bestow upon him the further bounty of a pension of a thousand pounds out of the customs. Shortly after his promotion to the high office of being one of the principal secretaries of state, he obtained a seat in parliament as one of the representatives for Yorkshire, at this present session of 1620-1, (of which we have been just speaking,) through the friendship, as it is said,† of the celebrated Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was afterwards earl of Strafford. Although this fact may be true, and a personal friendship might have then subsisted between Sir Thomas and Sir George, being both (or their families,) natives and residents of the West-Riding of Yorkshire,‡ yet they certainly pursued, at this period of time, (especially in the session of 1620-1,) very different politics. Sir Thomas Wentworth himself was one of the most active members, and one of the most able and zealous *anti-courtiers*, both at this session and in the preceding one of 1614. Sir George Calvert was now one of the principal secretaries of state, as just mentioned, and, as we may presume, did not, or indeed could not with propriety while he retained his office, act in any other way than in conformity with the wishes of the king. From the well known temper and disposition of James, he could not have retained the favour of that monarch, which he seems to

* Chalmers, in his *Annals*, (ch. ix.) says, that Sir George Calvert was made Secretary of State to James the first, through the *interest of Sir Robert Cecil*. But as Sir Robert Cecil, (created Earl of Salisbury in 1605,) died in 1612, and Sir George was not made secretary until 1619, there seems to be an inaccuracy in his statement. Chalmers possibly meant, that he was first originally patronised and introduced at court by Cecil as above mentioned. He had not been knighted at the date of the second charter of Virginia, (to wit, May 23d, 1609,) as he is therein named George Calvert, esquire, being one of the patentees.

† Chalmers, *ibid.*

‡ As the small town called *Ripley*, (which we have above supposed to be the birth place of Sir George Calvert,) and Wentworth castle, or the manor of Wentworth, the ancient family seat of the Wentworths and earls Strafford, are both situated in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, there might have arisen from that circumstance an intimacy between Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir George Calvert, and perhaps their families. Thomas was a baronet, but Sir George only a knight.

SEC. IX. have done to a great degree, without a thorough compliance with his views.

This session of 1620–1, which is deemed by historians to have formed a remarkable epoch in the progress of the English constitution, must have presented difficulties to Sir George, particularly in his double capacity of a new member and a secretary of state, which would put in requisition all his best talents. Besides the formidable stand now made by the house of commons against the king's prerogative, two subjects more immediately affecting the interests of the British colonies in America, came into debate for the first time in parliament:—the *tobacco trade* and the *fisheries*. It does not appear, that Sir George Calvert took any part in the debate on the former subject. Not entertaining, at that time, any idea of his Maryland colony, he probably felt indisposed to intermeddle in an affair, which the king deemed to be peculiarly appropriated to his own jurisdiction and management. His colony of Maryland, however, subsequently became as much interested in the subject as Virginia; and it would, therefore, perhaps be improper to pass over it here altogether unnoticed. Sir Edwin Sands, before mentioned as treasurer of the council and company of Virginia, was also a member of parliament at this session, and being chairman of a committee of the house, “for inquiring into the decay of trade,” reported as one of the causes of it, “the importation of Spanish tobacco.” Instead of the returns from Spain being in bullion or specie, they were in tobacco, evidently to the great injury both of England and Virginia; to the injury of the former by excluding the importation of specie, and of the latter by excluding from the mother country the staple commodity of the colony. “The remedy,” which he therefore proposed was—“to supply Great Britain with tobacco out of Virginia and the Somer islands; and to prohibit all other tobacco.” Nothing could be more reasonable than this proposition; yet it admitted of considerable debate. Upon the question of prohibiting the importation of foreign tobacco, it seems, there was “not one negative;” but towards the encouragement of it from Virginia and Bermudas several circumstances combined to prevent any legislative act upon the subject. In the first place, it was well known that the king had a most inveterate aversion to the use of tobacco in any way; and a member, (Sir J. Horsey,) in the course of the debate observed,—“He thought not to speak of this *vile weed*. When he was first a parliament-man, this *vile weed* was

not known. Thousands have died of this vile weed. He ab- SEC. IX.
 hored it the more, *because the king disliked it.** It was prohi-
 bited to be used in ale houses. It was no good ground," (that
 is staple of trade;) "for Virginia." Another reason for the un-
 willingness of the courtiers to act upon the business, was, that
 the king, being at this time extremely anxious for the marriage
 of his son with the infanta, would not assent to any prohibition
 of a Spanish commodity, lest it might give offence to the king
 of Spain. A third and powerful reason was, that the king af-
 fected to consider all regulations of every thing respecting colo-
 nies as under his peculiar direction, and not the subject of any
 attention of the house of commons.†

In the debate on the *fisheries*, (which occurred in a few days
 after the former,) Sir George, it seems, thought himself more
 peculiarly interested, or felt himself more at liberty to act in co-
 incidence with the king's sentiments. As the South Virginia
 company, or First Colony, as it was called, had, since the first
 charter of 1606, by which the continent of North America had
 been placed under two distinct companies, under the denomina-
 tion of the First and Second colonies, obtained two other dis-
 tinct charters to themselves, while the North Virginia or Ply-
 mouth company, or Second colony, had continued to act under
 the first one of 1606, some enterprising members of the latter
 company, particularly Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with others, peti-
 tioned the king, "to make certain adventurers, intending to
 erect and establish fishery, trade, and plantacion, within the ter-
 ritories, precincts, and lymits of the said Second colony, and
 their successors, one several, distinct, and entire body, and to
 grant unto them, such estate, liberties, privileges, enlargements,
 and immunities there, as in the letters patent are therein parti-
 cularly expressed and declared." King James, who had a
 passion for colonization, readily acceded to their proposals, and

* The king, besides his several proclamations against the growth, importation,
 or use of tobacco, published a treatise also against it, entitled, "A counterblast
 to [tobacco." One [of his "Witty Apothegms," as published in a collection of
 them, was—"Were he to invite the devil to a dinner, he would have three dishes:
 first, a pig; second, a poll of ling and mustard; and third, a *pipe of tobacco* for
 digesture." Grainger's Biog. Hist. and the Annual Register for 1769, p. 33.

† This debate occurred on the 17th and 18th of April, 1621.—See it in Chal-
 mers's Annals, ch. iii. note 17; who remarks upon it, that "it is the *first instance*
 which occurs, of the modern policy of promoting the importation of the com-
 modities of the colonies, because they were countries under our dominion," in
 preference to the productions of foreign nations.

SEC. IX. granted the letters patent to the duke of Lenox and others, bearing date November 3, (18 Jac. 1,) 1620.* This grant comprehended all the northern part of the continent between forty and fifty-eight degrees of north latitude, under the denomination of New England; and, among other "privileges, enlargements, and immunities," granted to them power and authority "to attach, arrest, take, and seize all ships and goods whatsoever, which should be brought from or carried into the territories, lands, rivers, and places thereby granted, unless it be by the licence and consent of the said company first had and obtained in writing, one moiety of such forfeitures to be to their own use, the other moiety to the king."† As this grant extended to 48°, it included nearly the whole of the coast of Newfoundland adjacent to the banks thereof. It being necessary for vessels, engaged in the fishery on those banks, to have liberty to land on the coast, not only to dry their nets, and salt their fish, but for procuring wood and water, the patentees availed themselves of a construction, which this clause admitted, of prohibiting those engaged in the fishery from using their coasts as above mentioned. This affecting the interests of the nation became an object of the national legislature. A debate accordingly took place on it, on the 25th of April, 1621, in which Sir Edwin Sands, (treasurer of the South Virginia company, as before mentioned,) after stating the grievance, moved "that a free liberty should be allowed to all the king's subjects to fish there. That the taking of timber was no prejudice to the colony. It was pitiful, that any of the king's subjects should be prohibited, since the French and Dutch were at liberty, who would come and fish there, notwithstanding the colony. That this New-England company now prohibit the taking of timber where it is nothing worth, and take away the salt the merchants leave there.

"Mr. Secretary [Calvert]:—Doubted the sub-committee had not heard the other part;—doubted whether the fishermen were not the hinderers of the plantation. That they burn great store of

* It may be noticed here, that it could not be known in England, at the time of this charter, that the colony of puritans from Leyden, before mentioned, who had left Southampton in England, about two months prior to this, (viz: on the 6th of September, 1620,) would have settled within the limits of this grant, having taken with them authority under the South Virginia company, within whose limits it was intended they should settle.

† See this patent at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 103.

woods, and choke the havens. He never would strain the king's prerogative against the good of the commonwealth. It was not fit to make any laws here for those countries, which were not as yet annexed to the crown.*

"Mr. Neale:—Three hundred ships at least gone to Newfoundland out of these parts," (meaning, according to Mr. Chalmers, the *west* of England.) "That this complained of heretofore to the lords of the council. London engrosseth all trades and places. That the patentees for this northern plantation, intended for the public good, intend their private; which hurteth the commonwealth. Second Edward VI. free liberty for all the subjects to go to the Newfoundland for fish:† Now make men compound for places: Take away their salt. They cannot carry even proportion; but must either leave or lack. That the fishing there little above seven weeks. No leisure to attend an admiral court. Pretence to reform abuses; but was to set fines. Taxed a hogshead of train-oil on every master of a ship that appeared not at his court.‡ That the lords of the council gave an order against this, which those planters have disobeyed. Enacted great sums, and shot off ordnance against the king's subjects. That London merchants, by restraining trade, undo all trade. That many things may be added to this bill: casting out ballast, &c.

*Mr. Chalmers, in his *Annals*, (ch. iv. p. 84,) has thus paraphrased this speech of Sir George Calvert.—"That those foreign countries are not yet annexed to the crown of England, but are the king's, as gotten by conquest; and, therefore, in such new plantations the king may govern as his majesty shall think fit; that the fishermen, for whose advantage this bill only provideth, are the true cause of the disorder in those parts, by destroying the woods, and casting ballast into the havens. And he recommended to the consideration of the house, whether we shall here make laws for the government of those parts."

† This alludes to the statute of 2 & 3 Edw. VI. ch. 6, before stated in the Introduction, p. 39.

‡ This grievance arising from an admiralty-court must have been under a court of that nature erected by the council of Plymouth, under their charter of November 3d, 1620, and held by some judge acting under their appointment and authority in Newfoundland. A clause in that charter "granted power and authority to the council to nominate and constitute all such officers and ministers as should be by them thought fit and needful; and also to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation, not only within the precincts of the said colony, but also *upon the seas* in going and coming to and from the said colony." Under a similar clause in the charter of Maryland a court of admiralty was subsequently erected in that province, as will appear in a subsequent part of this History.

SEC. IX. "Mr. Guy:—If this house hath jurisdiction to meddle with this bill, would consent to the proceeding thereof. That there are divers patents. He engaged for the plantation of Newfoundland.* The Londoners in this to be commended, however their greediness in other things justly found fault with. That the king hath already done as much by his great seal as can be done here by this act. That the French planted there about thirty years sithence.† That provision made, the fishermen might have timber there. That the plantation ever furthered our English merchants. Moveth that the pirates may be repulsed, if any come thither;‡ and this to be provided for by the bill.

"Mr. Brooke:—That we may make laws here for Virginia; for, if the king give consent to this bill passed here and by the lords, this will control the patent. The ease divers for Gascoyne, &c., which principality of themselves. To commit it.

"Sir Edwin Sands:—That Virginia holden of the manor of East-Greenwich."§

This debate is not stated here with any thought of its having a forcible bearing on the great subsequent question of dispute between the colonies and Great Britain, but with a view to illustrate the tenor of Sir George Calvert's political principles, as well as his ideas of colonization; which principles and ideas we may suppose him to have retained, when he afterwards under-

* This appears to be the same Mr. John Guy, a merchant, and afterwards mayor of Bristol, before mentioned, (see the Introduction, p. 163,) who is said to have revived the spirit of colonization about the year 1610, by several sensible treatises, which he wrote upon that subject. He had the chief agency in procuring the patent to Henry Howard, earl of Southampton, and others, including himself, as before mentioned; and also visited Newfoundland with a view of settling a colony there, but without success.

† It is said by Oldmixon, (Brit. Emp. in Amer. vol. 1, p. 6,) that the *French* did not settle themselves in Newfoundland, until the reign of Charles the second. But as the French are said, by *Hakluit*, (according to Holmes's Annals, anno 1591,) to have sent a fleet of ships from St. Malves, in France, for Canada, in that year, and that they were, at that time, accustomed to fish at the islands about the bay of St. Lawrence for morses or sea-cows, it is possible they might have then commenced some settlements in those islands, to which Mr. Guy may here allude.

‡ In the year 1611, one Peter Easton, a noted pirate, visited Newfoundland, for planting, as we may suppose, and not for fishing. He prevailed on captain Whitburne to apply for a pardon for him, as he wished to return home to England; but not succeeding, he entered into the service of the duke of Savoy, since entitled king of Sardinia. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. vol. 1, p. 4. Smith's Virg. vol. 2, p. 281.

§ See this debate stated as above by Chalmers, (in his Annals, ch. iv. note 14,) who cites the journal of the house of commons, of the 25th of April, 1621.

took the settlements of his colonies of Avalon and Maryland. SEC. IX. Although the writer, from whom this debate is taken, seems to have considered Sir George, on this occasion, as a strenuous advocate for "the royal prerogative;" yet, if we give credit to Sir George's own assertion, "he was not for straining that prerogative, against the good of the commonwealth." He seemed also to deny the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies; but for a reason, it is true, very different from those, on which the colonies afterwards went, in our day, in resistance to that power. It is certain, that king James had taken up an idea, that all colonies, planted by him in America, were under his own special superintendence. Like Gascony formerly, and other countries gained by conquest, they were not to be considered as a part of the realm of England, and therefore not subject to the legislation of an English parliament, any more than Scotland or Ireland. It is easy, however, to see the mischief of this principle; for, if the colonies were not under the *protecting* hand of parliament, they were left to the lawless mercy of such a prerogative as king James pleased; which had become, as Sir Edward Coke then termed it,—“an overgrown monster.”* But Sir George Calvert, as might be expected, fell into the king's views of this subject; and the reader will perceive, when he comes to peruse the charter of Maryland, which is supposed to have been the production of Sir George's own pen, a mixture therein of the people's right to legislate for themselves, with a reservation of the proprietary or royal prerogative, of governing solely by his own *ordinances*. Although the bill to remedy the grievances here complained of, relative to the right of fishery, regularly passed the house of commons, yet, as the learned annalist, from whom we have taken the preceding extract,† states,—“owing to the reasons suggested by the secretary of state, (Calvert) it did not become the law of the realm;” either not being passed by the house of lords or rejected by the king. As this right to a free fishery in America, through the influence of this debate, and a subsequent one on the same subject, hereafter to be noticed, occasioned a clause of reservation of the right to the subjects of England and Ireland to be inserted in

* Sir Edward got himself imprisoned by this very expression. His papers were seized, and the door of his chambers in the temple sealed up, in a few days after the dissolution of this parliament, in January, 1621, O. S.

† Chalmers's Annals, ch. iv. p. 84.

SEC. IX. the charter of Maryland, in 1632, as well as in some other charters, further remarks on it will be postponed to a future occasion.

As most of the historians relative to America, who have mentioned Sir George Calvert's province of Avalon in Newfoundland, vary in the date which they affix to his patent or grant thereof, and consequently in the time or year of his settling a colony therein, we are at liberty to select that which seems to have the surest foundation. Some have set down the date of his grant to have been in the year 1620, and the settlement in 1621. Others expressly state the settlement to have been in 1622, leaving an inference, that the grant was in the preceding year. But, as the original charter or grant, or an authentic copy thereof, is still extant in the British Museum, and, as stated in a publication of apparent authenticity, bears date the—"21 A. R."—meaning, without doubt,—“the twenty-first year of the king,”—its date must be referred to the year of our Lord 1623.* This

* Oldmixon, in his *Brit. Emp. in Amer.* vol. 1, pp. 4, 5, thus speaks of this grant,—“This gentleman,” (Sir George Calvert,) “being of the Romish religion, was uneasy at home, and had the same reason to leave the kingdom, as those gentlemen had, who went to New England, to enjoy the liberty of his conscience. He therefore resolved to retire to America, and finding the Newfoundland company made no use of their grant, he thought of this place for his retreat; to which end he procured a patent for that part of the island, that lies between the bay of Bulls in the east, and cape St. Mary's in the south, which was erected into a province, and called Avalon. Sir George sent over persons to plant and prepare things for his reception; and in 1621, capt. *Edward Wynn* went thither with a small colony at Sir George's charge, who seated himself at Ferryland.”—With this historian, the authors of the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* (vol. 39, p. 249,) seem to agree, as they generally do on other occasions, as far as his account of the colonies extends. Chalmers, (in his *Annals*, ch. ix.) states, that “in the year 1622, Sir George Calvert established a small but flourishing settlement at Ferryland, (in Newfoundland,) which he governed by his deputy, and which he visited in person in the beginning of the reign of Charles I.,” for which he cites Purchas's *Pilgrims*, 42, and the letters of Sir George Calvert in the *Strafford papers*. This seems in some measure to coincide with the preceding account by Oldmixon; and it is further stated in the *Mod. Univ. Hist. ibid*, that “in 1622, capt. Wynn was reinforced with an additional number of colonists;” when the settlement might be considered as “established,” as Chalmers states.—Notwithstanding these authorities, however, in an “Extract from the catalogue of MSS, relative to America, preserved in the British Museum,” which extract is inserted in the *Bibliotheca Americana*, (a work published in London, in the year 1789,) one of these MSS, is stated as follows :—“*Charta Avaloniæ*, or Charter of Avalon, granted by king James, 21 A. R.”—Whether this be the original charter, or a manuscript copy of it, is not stated in the catalogue. But, if the figures and letters,—“21 A. R.”—are accurately printed, they must mean, the twenty-first year of the king; which would make the date of the charter to have been in the year of our Lord 1623. In corroboration of this state of the Charter of Avalon, may be cited the *Geographical Grammar* of Patrick Gordon, published in 1719, a

grant was, apparently, in direct repugnance not only to that previously made by the king in 1610, to the earl of Northampton and others, as before mentioned,* but also to the grant then recently made to the duke of Lenox and others, in 1620, under the denomination of New England; which latter grant extending as high up as the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, must have comprehended the whole of Sir George Calvert's Province of Avalon. As the settlement attempted by Mr. Guy, under the first mentioned patent of 1610, totally failed, and the patentees had to all appearance entirely relinquished their intention of making any further use of their patent, Sir George might, perhaps, see no impropriety in accepting a re-grant of the same territory. Whether the collision between his grant and that of New England in 1620, produced any dispute, we are not informed. The surrender of the New England patent, in the year 1635, must have relieved him from such interference. Notwithstanding these prior grants, Sir George prepared to execute the purposes and intention of his patent. Previous, however, to his own embarkation for the country granted to him, he thought it most proper for him to send a small colony thither, under the command of a captain Edward Wynne, as governor, who seated himself and colonists at a place called Ferryland, a harbour on the east coast of Newfoundland, between Cape Race and the Bay of Bulls. Here he commenced a settlement, erected granaries and storehouses, and built the largest dwelling house that had ever been seen on the island. In the following year, (which, supposing the date of the patent to have been in 1623, must have been in 1624,) Governor Wynne had the encouragement, through the interest and means of the proprietor, of receiving a reinforcement to his colony, by the arrival of an additional number of colonists and fresh supplies of stores and provisions. Exaggerated ac-

work which has been always deservedly held in high estimation by literary men. He therein, under the head of Newfoundland, thus speaks of its government.—“In the year 1623, Sir George Calvert, principal secretary of state, having obtained a patent for a part of Newfoundland, erected the same into a province, (called Avalon,) and therein settled a plantation; which after him was enjoyed by his son Cecilius Lord Baltimore.”—It ought not, perhaps, to be omitted, that immediately preceding the foregoing statement of the charter of Avalon, in the *Bibliotheca Americana*, mention is also made of another MS. therein, entitled,—“Account of the Settlement of Newfoundland, by Sir George Calvert;”—but the catalogue does not state any date, either of the time when that “Account” was written, or when the settlement, of which it treats, took place.

* See the Introduction, p. 189.

SEC. IX. counts of the fertility of soil and pleasantness of the country having been transmitted to Sir George, he was induced soon after to visit his colony in person.*

It cannot with evident certainty be stated, that Sir George Calvert, in the settlement of either of his provinces, Avalon or Maryland, had in view the formation of an asylum for English Catholics; although it is so stated by several historians, as before mentioned; such intention of his being no where clearly expressed by himself, unless it be in the before mentioned MS. account of Avalon, by Sir George himself, still remaining in the British Museum; of the contents of which, we have no opportunity of examining. With regard to Maryland, the fact, ascertained in history, as well as in the records of the province, that most of the first colonists of that province were Roman Catholics, leaves a strong inference, that it was the original contemplation of Sir George thereby to erect for such Catholics a place of refuge. In respect to Avalon, however, we have not this fact, as a ground for such inference. But, as one of the earliest historians of Newfoundland attributes Sir George Calvert's design, in planting his colony of Avalon, to the desire of making "a place of retreat" for English Catholics, in which he is followed by other subsequent historians,† such motive being founded on strong probability, may be safely admitted. Other causes of influence on the conduct of Sir George on this occasion, might also have had some operation. Colonization, in the reign of king James, might be called the fashion of the day. It took its style and shape from the monarch himself. He had high ideas of his talents for legislation and government, and appeared to amuse himself in the gratification of this passion, by planting colonies in the thinly populated parts both of Scotland and Ireland. It was natural, therefore, for Sir George Calvert, as well as most others of the great men of the kingdom, as they actually did, engage with zeal in these speculative schemes: although, as we are told, speculative reasoners, even during that age, foretold, that they were then laying the foundation of an independent

* See Oldmixon and the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* as before cited. The dates above mentioned correspond also with what is stated by Chalmers, as before cited,—that Sir George visited his colony in person, in the beginning of the reign of Charles the first, which commenced in 1625.

† See Oldmixon's *Brit. Emp. in Amer.* vol. 1, p. 5, and the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. 39, p. 249.

government in America.* Sir George Calvert, however, had SEC. IX. certainly no such design in view.

For further illustration of Sir George's political principles and character, as well as his ideas of colonization, but more particularly because the right of free fishery became a question of importance in the civil policy of Maryland, as before suggested, it will be proper to renew our attention to the debate on that subject, which took place at the next session of parliament, of which Sir George still continued a member.†—On the total disruption of the proceedings of the Spanish match, and the return of Prince Charles and Buckingham from Madrid, that minister, with the aid of the prince prevailed on the king to call a parliament, which assembled on the 19th of February, 1623–4, old style. The patent before mentioned, granted to the duke of Lenox and others, having been referred to the committee of grievances,‡ Sir Edward Coke, from that committee, made a report thereon to the house, which brought on the following debate:

“17th March, 1623–4.—Sir Edward Coke reporteth from the committee of grievances. Have condemned one, viz. Sir Ferdinand Gorges his patent for a plantation in New England. Their counsel heard; the exceptions being first delivered them. Resolved by consent; that, notwithstanding the clause in the patent, dated 3d Nov. 18th Jac. that no subject of England shall visit the coast, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods, the patentees have yielded, that the English fishermen shall visit, and that they will not interrupt any fishermen to fish there: For, he no new discoverer; fishermen of this and other nations having fished there before his patent. Drying of nets, salting their fish, &c. incident to their fishing: Whereunto he also agreed. After he was gone after the debate, overruled the fishermen might take timber for repair of their ships: 1st, Quia incident; 2d, taken so before his patent; 3d, fishermen never take

* See Hume's Hist. of Eng. Appendix to the reign of James the first.

† It would seem, that at this session of parliament, he represented the University of Oxford, his *Alma Mater*.—Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. art. Calvert.

‡ A proclamation, that had been issued by the king, November 6th, 1622, apparently to protect the above mentioned grant to the duke of Lenox and others, prohibiting sundry abuses therein mentioned, to wit, taking the timber of the planters, barking trees, and ruining harbours by casting out ballast, must have been also taken into consideration by the committee, with the above mentioned patent.—See the proclamation in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 151; and remarks thereon by Chalmers, in his Annals, ch. iv.

SEC. IX. any timber with them; 4th, bring in great store of money for fish.

“Resolved:—English fishermen shall have fishing with all incidents of drying fish, nets, timber, &c. 2dly, That the clause of forfeiture, being only by patent, and not by act of parliament, void.

“Resolved upon question:—That the house thinketh fit, the fishermen of England shall have fishing there, with all the incidents necessary, of drying nets, and salting, and packing.

“Upon the second question; in the opinion of this house, *una voce*, the clause of confiscation void and against law.

“Upon the third question;—in the opinion of this house, the fishermen of England may take necessary wood and timber for their ships and boats use in fishing there.”

“3d May, 1624.—The debate concerning the fishing in New England renewed.

“Sir Wm. Earle:—For the planters; who more beneficial to the commonwealth than the fishers.*

“A proviso, in parliament, tendered to this bill, which read.

“A second proviso tendered by Mr. Guy, which read.

“Sir Ed. Cooke:—Sir F. Gorges’s his patent condemned for the clause that none shall visit with fishing upon the sea-coast. This to make a monopoly upon the sea, which wont to be free. A monopoly attempted of the wind and the sun, by the sole packing and drying of fish.†

“Mr. Secretary:—That free fishery, prayed by this bill overthroweth all plantations in those countries. That liberty by this

* Sir William Earle certainly differed in opinion here very widely from that great political economist, Sir Josiah Child; who strenuously maintained, (as before suggested,) that it was better for Great Britain, that Newfoundland should not be planted with any colonies, as they would be prejudicial to the fishery. Events seem every day developing themselves to demonstrate the truth of another position of Sir Josiah Child; to wit, that New England itself, as a colony, was, even in the year 1689, when he wrote, of greater injury than benefit to the mother country.

† Sir Edward Coke’s animosity to *monopolies*, (though very proper,) was, without doubt, whetted by his late imprisonment immediately after the last session, as well as by his previous removal from his chief justiceship in 1616. He had not always been of the same opinion on this subject, as appears from his argument in the remarkable *case of monopolies* in 44 Eliz. when he was attorney general, reported by himself in 11 Co. 84, b. The true ground of controversy on the present occasion was,—whether the right to the soil and freehold by *grant* was to controul and take place of, the previous right to a free fishery established by *long usage* prior to such grant. The national interest, so dependant on the right of fishery, finally prevailed.

bill to cut down wood, within one quarter of a mile of a dwelling house; which exceeding prejudicial to the planters. So for Newfoundland. SEC. IX.

[Mr. Chalmers, from whose annals this debate is taken, here inserts the following "remark.—Sir George Calvert then possessed the territory of Avalon in that island, where he had planted a colony."]

"Mr. Glanville:—The first stage worth ten of the rest. The provision for timber in Newfoundland omitted; because, that an island having no rivers: But New England hath divers into it.

"Both the provisos upon question rejected. The bill upon question passed."

Although this bill passed the house of commons, as the former, at the last session, had done, yet, (as the annalist from whom the extract is made,* observes,) "the influence of prerogative still existing, it met with its former fate, and became not a law."

The parliament were also much engaged, during this session, in other business, still less agreeable to Sir George, and in which, probably, he took no part. Both houses of parliament still labouring under uneasiness and jealousies relative to the Spanish match, and the great encouragement of papists at court, presented a petition to the king, in which, among other things relative to popery, they requested,—"that all papists should be removed from London and the court." As this would necessarily imply also a removal of all papists from offices and places of trust, in and about the king and court, the remark of *Rapin* on this petition may be here quoted.—"Had the king consented to this request, the face of the court would have been entirely changed. The duke of Buckingham's mother, who, by her son's means, disposed of all offices, must have been removed. His dutchess would also have been of the number; as well as *one of the secretaries of state*."† Soon after the petition the parliament caused also a list of fifty-seven *popish* lords and knights, who were in public offices, to be presented to the king. The only two principal secretaries of state, at this time, were Sir George Calvert and Sir Edward Conway.‡ The latter is expressly stat-

* Chalmers's Annals, ch. iv.

† Rapin's Hist. Engl. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 281.

‡ Sir Robert Naunton, having given some offence to Buckingham, was removed from his office on the 14th of January, 1620-1, (O. S.), and Sir Edward Conway then put in his place. Rapin's Hist. Abridg. vol. 2. p. 206.

SEC. IX. ed to have been a protestant.* So that Sir George Calvert must have been most probably included in this list, and one of the principal objects of this petition. Although the king was certainly more condescending and gracious to this parliament, than he had ever been to any before, and in his answer to this petition had been induced to play the hypocrite so far as—"to protest before God, that his heart had bled when he had heard of the increase of popery; and that he would command all his judges to put all the laws in execution against recusants;"—yet it does not appear, that any removals from office on this account, at least with those about the court, took place during the short remainder of his reign. It is stated, however, by some American biographers, who mention Sir George Calvert, that "in 1624 he became a *Roman Catholic*, and having disclosed his new principles to the king, resigned his office."† That Sir George did not, prior to the year 1624, or perhaps prior to the death of the king, which happened about the end of that year, according to old style, openly avow himself a Roman Catholic, is highly probable, inasmuch as he thereby would have rendered himself obnoxious to the prejudice and animosity of the majority of the nation, in his two great trusts of secretary and member of parliament. But his zeal from the time of his first appointment to the office of secretary, in promoting the marriage of the king's son prince Charles with an infanta of Spain, connected with his subsequent avowal of that religion, seems strongly to imply, that he acted in that business willingly, and not merely under the orders of the king. On this subject also, he seems to have fallen in with the views of count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador at London, in so open a manner, as to induce historians to enrol him in the list of those, who were bribed by that minister.‡ But in justice to Sir George, it is fair to impute his conduct, relative to the Spanish match, rather to the more probable motive of a zeal for the interests of the Catholic religion, connected with

* Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 159.—Rapin, however, in a subsequent part of the same vol. p. 409, states him to have been a *Catholic*. But it is most probable, that he alludes in the above quotation, to Sir George Calvert.

† *Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict.* art. Calvert; who seems to have copied the article from *Belknap's Amer. Biog.*

‡ Rapin, in his Hist. of Eng. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 167, says, that "count Gondemar had bribed with presents and pensions all those who had the king's ear," and in a note thereto subjoins,—“particularly the earls of Worcester and Arundel, the lord Digby, Sir *George Calvert*, Sir Richard Weston, and others *papishly affected* ;”—for which he cites *Wilson's* life of James I.

an amiable desire of demonstrating his gratitude to a monarch, SEC. IX. who had rendered him so many favours as king James had done,* than to the dishonourable influence of a bribe. It is not probable, therefore, that the principles of the Catholic religion were newly adopted by him in 1624. He must have been tinctured with a propensity to that religion long before.

As the king's favorite minister—the duke of Buckingham, in order to gratify his revenge against the Spaniards for some affronts supposed to have been received by him when at Madrid, is said to have collegued with the Puritans, or a least with some zealous Protestants, for the more rigid execution of the penal laws against papists, to which the king was induced to yield, it is highly probable; that Sir George Calvert, seeing a more threatening storm than usual, rising against the Catholics, began to prepare his mind for a retirement from the public scenes of life. He had long been interested in the affairs of the colonies, having been one of the original associates or members of the Virginia company under the second charter in 1609,† and so continued until its dissolution in 1624,‡ which must have been within a few days after the prorogation of this present parliament on the 20th of May this year. On the dissolution of the Virginia charters, it being necessary to provide some other mode for the government of Virginia, a commission issued, bearing date the 15th of July, 1624, to Henry Viscount Mandeville and others, among whom is mentioned,—“Sir George Calvert, knight, one of our principal secretaries of state,” and who was also to be one of the *quorum* of a *provisional council* in England thereby erected for the temporary government of Virginia, until his majesty could “upon advised consideration and deliberation” pass a new charter.§ Thus invested among others with the superintendence of the principal colony in America, his mind must have been frequently called to a more than ordinary atten-

* From the like motive might have originated with him, as it is said to have done, the project of settling the affairs of the elector Palatine, a Protestant and James's son-in-law, by marrying his son—the prince Palatine, James's grandson, with a daughter of the emperor of Germany, who was a Catholic.—See Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 9, p. 180.

† His name appears, as one of the patentees in that charter, in a large list of the nobility and gentry of England.

‡ The writ of *Quo Warranto*, against the Virginia charter, issued in November 1623, and judgment was given by the court of K. B., against the treasurer and company, in Trinity term, (about the latter end of May,) 1624.—Chalmers's Annals, ch. iii. and ix.

§ See this commission at large in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 183.

SEC. IX. tion to the business of forming plantations in America. He was now also, as has been before stated, engaged in planting a colony in Newfoundland, and, having received the most flattering, though delusive, information of its prosperous progress, he might probably about this time have formed his intention of retiring from the disagreeable scenes of England, to pass a few years of quiet enjoyment of his religion in the woods and forests of America.

Having thus traced Sir George's public life to the middle of the year 1624, when we find him still continuing in his various public offices, it will be proper to observe, that, notwithstanding the preceding allegation of Sir George's "disclosure of his new principles to the king and resignation of his office in that year," it has been on the contrary stated, with apparent authenticity, that he continued to be one of the principal secretaries of state, until the death of king of James,* which occurred on the 27th of March, 1625, only three days after the expiration of the year 1624, according to old style. It is possible, however, that he might have resigned his office of secretary in the latter part of the year 1624, at some short period before the death of James, and at the same time, considering the circumstances of the times and the inveteracy of the majority of the nation against the Papists, he might have assigned to king James this general national prejudice as his reason for so doing: But it is not probable, that king James had been hitherto a stranger to his religious sentiments.

On the death of James and the accession of Charles to the throne, it seems to be certain, that Sir George ceased to be one of the secretaries.† It is highly probable, that on his retirement from office, whenever that event was, he received his diploma of nobility; being created baron of Baltimore in the kingdom of Ireland. But to this circumstance of his life also different dates are annexed; and we have not, on this side of the Atlantic, the means of correcting such errors. According to some he was created lord Baltimore in the year 1623;‡ but this seems to

* Chalmers's Annals, ch. ix. who cites a commission in *Rymer's Fædera*, in opposition to what (he says) "was mistakingly said (to that purpose) in the Miscellaneous State Papers (then) lately published."

† Sir Edward Conway, now became lord Conway, and Sir John Cooke are mentioned as secretaries of state in August, 1625, about five months after the death of king James. Rapin's Hist. of Eng. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 333.

‡ In the list of the peers of Ireland from the reign of Henry 2d, to the year 1806, in the order of their creation, in *Beatson's Political Index*, (vol. 3, p. 147.)

be plainly contradicted by the commission just mentioned, of SEC. IX. July 15th, 1624, in which he is styled by the king himself—"Sir George Calvert, knight," which title would certainly not have been used in such a commission, had he been then a peer. His American biographers seem therefore to be more correct, who state him to have been created baron of Baltimore in the year 1625;* when he most probably received this honour from Charles the first, shortly after the death of his father James, and Sir George's resignation of the office of secretary.

Disengaged from the important duties of the office of secretary, he had now leisure to attend to his project of establishing a colony in America. More accurately to ascertain the progress of that, which he had planted in Newfoundland, it was probably about this time, in the first or second years of the reign of Charles the first, that he first visited his province of Avalon.† It has been said also, that he removed thither with his family, and dwelt there some time.‡ But of this the dates are not to be accurately ascertained.

The natural order of time requires to recur again to the proceedings of parliament relative to the important right of American fisheries. The subject was revived as one of the grievances of the realm, at the second parliament which Charles convened after his accession to the throne, on the 6th of February, 1625-6. The bill for securing the right of fishery, which had engaged so much of the time and the attention of former sessions, was readily adopted by the present, but with a title more expressive of its genuine policy. An act "for maintenance and increase of shipping and navigation, and for the freer liberty of fishing voyages upon the sea-coasts of Newfoundland, Virginia, and New England," was brought in. It was soon passed by the commons, and sent to the lords; from whom, however, it never returned. Although the bill was thus lost, yet the commons, ever intent upon this among their several grievances, in their remonstrance to the king at this session, insisted,—“that

a work of some authenticity, Sir George Calvert is stated to have been created Baron Baltimore in the year 1623.

*Allen's American Biog. Dict. art. Calvert;—who appears to have copied it from Belknap's Amer. Biog. It is probable, that the similitude of the figures 3 and 5 have occasioned the mistake.

† Chalmers's Annals, ch. ix. for which he cites Purchas's Pilgrims, 4 v. and the letters of Sir George Calvert in the Strafford papers.

‡ Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in America, vol. 1, p. 5;—who is followed in this by the authors of the Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. 39, p. 250.

SEC. IX. the restraint of the subjects from the liberty of a free fishing, with all the necessary incidents, was a great national grievance.”* At the next session of parliament, which assembled on the 17th of March, 1627–8, the same or a similar bill was revived in the house of commons; and it seems, that Sir George Calvert, now Lord Baltimore, feeling himself, in all probability, particularly interested in it, on account of his colony of Avalon in Newfoundland, thought it proper to apply for a hearing by his counsel against it. Notwithstanding what was urged by his counsel, the bill passed the house of commons; but, it is said “to have met with its accustomed fate,” and either failed in the house of lords or was rejected by the king. Although the commons were not so successful in this measure as they were in this same session in that of their famous petition of right, yet their perseverance is said to have produced such a variation in the modification of future grants of territories in America by the crown, as to secure to the people of England a satisfactory reservation of the important right, to them, of a free fishery; which seems to have been understood, not only as the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, (a right reasonable enough in itself,) but on all other parts of the coast of British America, where it was supposed to be possible for extensive fisheries to be carried on. The charter of Massachusetts, bearing date the fourth day of March, in the fourth year of Charles I. (A. D. 1628–9, old style,) about a year after the preceding session last mentioned, contains an express proviso, that “these presents shall not in any manner enure, or be taken to abridge, barr, or hinder any of our loving subjects whatsoever, to use and exercise the trade of fishing upon that coast of New England in America by these presents mentioned to be granted; but that they, and every or any of them, shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use their said trade of fishing upon the said coast, in any of the seas thereunto adjoining, or any armes of the seas or salt water rivers where they have been wont to fish, and to build and set up upon the lands by these presents granted, such wharfes, stages, and work houses as shall be necessary for the salting, drying, keeping, and packing up of their fish, to be taken or gotten upon that coast; and to cut down and take such trees and other materials there growing or being or† shall be needful for the purpose,

* Chalmers’s Annals, ch. ix.

† It is so expressed in the copy in Hazard’s Collections, (vol. 1, p. 254,) but the context would seem to indicate the word *as* instead of the word “or.”

and for all other necessary easements, helps, and advantage, concerning their said trade of fishing there, in such manner and form as they have been heretofore at any time accustomed to do, without making any wilful waste or spoil." A clause, to the same purpose, was inserted in the charter of Maryland to lord Baltimore in the year 1632. As this clause has been supposed by some to form a foundation of certain rights alleged to exist with the citizens of Maryland to this day, and the construction of it has occasioned some litigation in the courts of justice of this state, even since its independence, it may not be improper to insert it here.—"Saving always to us, our heirs and successors, and to all the subjects of our kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, of us, our heirs and successors, the liberty of fishing for sea-fish, as well in the sea, bays, straits, and navigable rivers, as in the harbours, bays, and creeks of the province aforesaid; and the privilege of salting and drying fish on the shores of the same province; and, for that cause, to cut down and take hedging-wood and twigs there growing, and to build huts and cabbins, necessary in this behalf, in the same manner as heretofore they reasonably might, or have used to do. Which liberties and privileges, the said subjects of us, our heirs and successors, shall enjoy, without notable damage or injury in any wise to be done to the aforesaid now baron of Baltimore, his heirs or assigns, or to the residents and inhabitants of the same province in the ports, creeks, and shores aforesaid, and especially in the woods and trees there growing. And if any person shall do damage or injury of this kind, he shall incur the peril and pain of the heavy displeasure of us, our heirs and successors, and of the due chastisement of the laws, besides making satisfaction." A considerable variance is perceptible between these clauses of these two charters. That of Massachusetts reserves the right of fishery to *all the king's subjects*; but that of Maryland to those only "of *England* and *Ireland*." The "saving" in the latter, therefore, seems to exclude the rights of all the king's subjects in *America*, and thereby to refer only to the rights of public fisheries on the American coast carried on by English or Irish subjects. Why the subjects of other parts of the British dominions were excluded, does not clearly appear. It is probable, that lord Baltimore admitted it in the limited manner, as it is in his charter, only to prevent any clamours against his grant, arising on the popular topic of the day—the right of fishery; especially in En-

SEC. IX. gland and Ireland; of the former of which he was a native, and of the latter a peer; and he probably did not apprehend any objections on that account in either Scotland or America. Clauses almost literally similar to that of Massachusetts were inserted also in the charter of Connecticut in 1662, and in that of Rhode Island in 1663.*

Notwithstanding all must acknowledge, that the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland was a great national right, intimately connected with the maritime power of the English nation, and, as Sir Josiah Child very justly observed, ought to have occasioned a prohibition of any settlements or colonies on that island, and that the coast thereof should be reserved solely for the promiscuous use of fishermen; yet as to those coasts of the American continent more favorably fitted for colonization, where the right of fishery, if exercised in the mode contended for, would nearly effect the destruction of a right quite as important in every government or state,—the right of *property in the soil*, a mind accustomed to justice will hesitate much before it can be induced to assent to the proposition, that the latter right should yield to the former. In Massachusetts, it appears, that a law or laws confirming the rights of fishery with its incidents, was passed; but no act of assembly confirming this clause in the charter of Maryland, appears among the laws of that province or state. Its repugnance to some of the first principles of the *common law* of Englishmen and their colonists, in relation to the rights of *property*, begat frequent contests, we are told, in the province of Maryland; and even since its independence, defences to actions of trespass have been set up, grounded upon this supposed right of fishery saved to English and Irish subjects by this clause of the Maryland charter.† To suits of this

* See these charters in Hazard's Collections, vol. 2, p. 603 and 612. Chalmers, in his Annals, (ch. v. note 9,) has stated, that a similar clause was in the charter of Pennsylvania of 1621, but that is a mistake, no such clause is in it. William Penn was too crafty and cunning to allow it; and moreover, arbitrary power, in the sunshine of which he much basked, was too prevalent at the time of his charter for any omissions of such minor rights to occasion much clamour.

† Some time in the year — an action of trespass *quare clausum fregit*, was tried in Talbot county court, for trespassing on the shores of the plaintiff, in hauling a seine for fish in Thirdhaven creek. The court very properly adjudged, that if the defendant, or those employed by him, landed on the shore and soil of the plaintiff, after notice forbidding him to do so, it was a trespass for which an action might be sustained. But some doubt arising on the evidence, whether the defendant actually himself landed on the shore, he having remained in his canoe or boat on the water, the jury were divided and could not agree. To relieve

nature, Mr. Chalmers, in his Annals, alludes in the following remarks.—“The history of this clause in the charter of Maryland decides a long contested point in the jurisprudence of that province. Whether the reservation of the right of fishing related to the subjects of England and Ireland only, according to the express words of it, or to the inhabitants of Maryland also, has been long and sometimes forcibly debated. The latter, adjudging the dispute in their own favour, have at all times exercised the privilege, though not always without opposition. By the common law they may assuredly fish in all navigable creeks and rivers : But, a freedom to tread the soil of the freehold, or to appropriate any of the productions of it, requires some special authority. Such is the law of Virginia. All may fish in its numerous bays and rivers ; but none can land on their banks without the consent of the owners. The ancient law of Massachusetts, though contradictory to the express reservation of the charter, gave the fishermen a right to use any harbour, to occupy the adjoining shores for curing their fish, to take timber and firewood ; paying the town or persons, who are the proprietors, for the same.”*

As Mr. Chalmers resided in Maryland, within a few years prior to the American Revolution, it is probable, that the “long contested point in the jurisprudence of that province,” which he mentions, occasioned Daniel Dulany, Esq. a lawyer of considerable eminence in that province, to give his written opinion on this subject, which bears date, “July, 1768 ;” the substance of which appears to be :—“That, as the right to the soil of the province was vested in the crown, prior to lord Baltimore’s charter, that right was, by that instrument of grant, transferred to his lordship, and from him to his several grantees, the occupiers and owners of such soil : That the *saving* clause, relative to the right of fishery, in the sixteenth section of that charter, only *qualified* the precedent general grant, by reserving to *all the subjects of the kingdoms of England and Ireland*, the liberty of fishing in the sea, bays, rivers, and creeks of the province ; that the people of Maryland were not the subjects of the king of England or in the realm or kingdom of England, but in the dominions belonging to it ; and he was, therefore, of opinion,

them, a compromise of the suit took place. It was thought at the time, that the unpopularity of the ground of the action had some influence upon the jury.

* Chalmers’s Annals ch. v. note 9.

SEC. IX. that the inhabitants or residents of Maryland are not comprehended in the saving above mentioned, for the purpose aforesaid.”*

We are now to attend to the progress of lord Baltimore in establishing his colony in Newfoundland. Having resided here a few years, he soon discovered, that it was not a country fit, or at least eligible, for colonization. As he had, without doubt, received full information of the flourishing situation of the colony of Virginia, and favourable accounts of the climate and soil of the country bordering on the Chesapeake, he was induced, in the year 1628, to visit that colony, in search of some more desirable situation for his Catholic dependents.† Whether a jealousy of his colonial views, or those general prejudices against the papists, which were now more prevalent than ever, even in the mother country, operated with the Virginians, his visit was received by them most ungraciously indeed. What renders this reception of him somewhat more surprising, is, that the colonists of Virginia had not emigrated from England to evade religious persecution, as those of New England are supposed to have done, but seem to have been allured to it originally by the prospect of a sudden accumulation of wealth, by means of the discovery of mines as the Spaniards had done, or a shorter route to the Indies. The church of England was then the established religion in Virginia, and Puritanism had not been hitherto encouraged among them. It is true, that those in England who were denominated high churchmen, as archbishop Laud and others, were accused by the Puritans of being inclined to popery; but it is to be remembered, that king Charles constantly professed, and apparently with sincerity, to be alike opposed to popery and Puritanism.‡ He was evidently less inclined to favour the papists than his father had been. It is clearly perceptible throughout the early part of his reign, that the churchmen considered themselves as standing upon a ground quite distinct

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Lord Baltimore visits Virginia.

* See this opinion at large in Harris and MacHenry's Maryland Reports, vol. 1, p. 564.

† Some writers make his visit to Virginia to have been in 1631; (See Holmes's Annals, vol. 1, p. 261; but Burk in his late history of Virginia, vol. 2, p. 25,) places this event in 1628; for which he seems to rely on a MS. copy of "Ancient Records" of Virginia, in his possession, preserved from destruction in the time of the American revolution, by colonel Byrd.

‡ Even Rapin acknowledges, that he did not believe that either the king or archbishop Laud ever formed the design of restoring the Romish religion, and mentions the circumstance of the archbishop being offered a cardinal's cap, if he would help to do it. Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 526-7.

from either the papists or the Puritans. Taking the tone from SEC. IX.
1628. the sovereign, the officers of justice began to put in execution the laws against both more frequently than in the former reign, though the emptiness of the royal coffers induced the monarch to connive at the frequent practice of compounding for the penalties. It is not impossible, but that this disposition of the minds of churchmen towards the Catholics, had passed by this time across the Atlantic to Virginia.

Immediately on the arrival of lord Baltimore in Virginia, the assembly of that province, actuated, as is supposed by a late historian,* by a sense of duty, caused the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to him and his followers. He rejected them, proposing, however, at the same time, for himself and his followers a form of oath, which he declared himself ready to accept. As particular forms of these oaths were prescribed by particular statutes, it was not in the power of the assembly to dispense with them after being tendered. In this state matters rested, the assembly contenting itself with laying the whole transaction before the privy council in England.†

The conduct of the Virginians towards him.

Setting aside the want of courtesy and hospitality in this treatment of lord Baltimore, and the questionable colonial policy of the measure, as it would appear to us at this day, considerable doubts might arise as to the legal power of the assembly, in this instance, to tender these oaths to his lordship. No such power appears to have been given by what is called the first charter of Virginia, of 4 Jac. 1. By the second charter of the 7 Jac. 1, power was given (as before mentioned‡) "to the treasurer for the time being, and any three of the council, (that is, any three of the council of Virginia *in England*,) to tender and exhibit the said oath (of supremacy) to all such persons as shall at any time be *sent and employed* in the said voyage." By the third charter of Virginia, of the 9 Jac. 1, power is given to the treasurer or his deputy for the time being, "or any two others of the said council, for the said first colony in Virginia, to minister and give the oath and oaths of supremacy and allegiance, or either of them, to all and every person and persons which shall at any time or times hereafter, go or pass to the said colony of Virginia." But it is evident, that these clauses of *dedimus*

* Burk, in his Hist. of Virginia, vol. 2, p. 25.

† Burk's Hist. *Ibid*.

‡ See this clause of this charter before recited in p. 184.

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Differences among the Catholics with respect to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy

It was not to be expected, that such a conscientious Catholic, as lord Baltimore is represented to have been, could with propriety have taken the oath of supremacy, which oath at that time was the one prescribed by the statute of 1 Eliz. ch. 1, sec. 19; inasmuch as he must thereby have declared, that the king was the only supreme governor of all his dominions and countries, "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." This could not consistently be done by one who believed the pope to be the supreme head of the christian church. It was, probably, then known also by his lordship, being an Irish peer, that pope Urban VIII. had but a few years before (in the year 1626) issued his bull to the Irish Catholics, in which "he exhorted them rather to lose their lives, than to take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the Catholic church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty."* But as to the oath of allegiance, which was that prescribed by the statute of 3 Jac. 1, ch. 4, sect. 15, although it required a denial of the pope's power of excommunicating kings, and thereby deposing them, yet many of the moderate English Catholics, soon after the making of the statute of 3 Jac. 1, in the year 1606, thought that they could with propriety, and actually did, take the oath prescribed by that statute; and in this they were encouraged by George Blackwell, who had been established as the archpriest or superior of the Catholic church in England, and who gave it as his opinion that the English

* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. 2, (ch. 8,) p. 479.

Catholics might with safety take this oath of allegiance. But SEC. IX.
 pope Paul, by a brief, in 1606, forbade them to take it. Black- 1628.
 well refused to publish the brief, and on that account the Eng-
 lish Catholics conceived that it was a forged one. The pope,
 however, renewed his prohibition, and cardinal Bellarmine wrote
 a sharp letter of reproof to Blackwell, exhorting him to redress
 his fault, and rather suffer martyrdom than continue that course.
 Blackwell answered Bellarmine, that since the ablest divines did
 not believe that the pope had any power over the temporals of
 princes, he thought that he might in conscience take the oath
 according to that opinion.* This letter of Bellarmine and the
 two briefs of the pope, drew forth the pen of king James, who
 was always glad of an opportunity of displaying his talents for
 theological controversy; and it is said,† he clearly demonstrated
 that the cardinal had confounded the two oaths of supremacy
 and allegiance, and thereby shown, that he did not understand
 the subject. The intended distinction between them, appears
 to have been, that the oath of supremacy obliges the subject to
 acknowledge the king for supreme head of the Church of Eng-
 land, as well as to bear allegiance to him; but the oath of alle-
 giance, prescribed by the statute of 3 Jac. 1, requires only sub-
 mission and obedience to the king, as a sovereign, independent
 of any other power upon earth.‡ So that it was supposed, that
 every Catholic could safely take this new oath, unless he was
 one of those who thought, that to be a true Catholic it was ne-
 cessary to believe, that the pope had power to depose kings,
 and give away their dominions. It is said also,§ that the com-

* Blackwell probably alluded here to some controversial writings, which the
 then recent dispute between pope Paul V. and the republic of Venice had occa-
 sioned. That pontiff had thought that some laws or decrees of the senate inter-
 fered with his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and demanded by his nuncio, that they
 should be revoked. The senate supposing that these laws concerned only mat-
 ters which were properly the subjects of their internal police, refused the de-
 mand. Two clergymen also, who had committed crimes, were about to be pun-
 ished. He demanded that they should be delivered up, to be tried by his eccle-
 siastical judges. This also the senate refused. The consequence was, that his
 holiness pronounced the doge and the republic excommunicated. This dispute
 occasioned many books to be written, in different parts of Europe, relative to
 the bounds of division between ecclesiastical and political power; in which
 many sound Catholics attempted to maintain the independence of princes and
 states against the papal power. See Dupin's Hist. of the Church, Cent. 17,
 chap. 2 and 3.

† Rapin's Hist. (Tindal's edit.) vol. 8, p. 65.

‡ Ibid. vol. 8, p. 62.

§ Ibid.

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Lord Baltimore forms the scheme of settling a colony in Maryland.

Whether lord Baltimore personally, at the time of his visit to Virginia, explored that tract of country now denominated Maryland, of which he afterwards procured a grant, we are not positively informed. But, as the obtaining a more complete knowledge of the country bordering on the Chesapeake, than he could otherwise possibly have from report, must have been the principal object of his visit, we cannot but suppose, that he must at this time, notwithstanding the discouragement of his pursuits by the Virginians, have made the tour by water of the principal parts of the Chesapeake bay. Although it is highly probable, that the Virginians had then been for some time in the practice of trading and bartering with the Indian natives inhabiting the shores of that bay, even to its head, at the mouth of the Susquehanna; and might, indeed, as it is said, have established trading houses on some of the islands toward the head of the bay, particularly perhaps on the isle of Kent; yet, if the "ancient records" of Virginia, before mentioned, and cited by a late historian of that state, be authentic to prove that this visit of lord Baltimore to Virginia, was in the year 1628, which we have here taken as granted, there are strong grounds to presume, that at this time there had been no permanent settlements made, either by the Virginians or any other Europeans, within the lines and limits of any part of that country for which the lord Baltimore afterwards obtained a grant, unless a colony of Swedes and Fins, which had arrived in the Delaware, in the preceding year, (1627,) and may be supposed to have been in this year settling themselves at the mouth of Christina creek, near Wilmington, in what is now called the Delaware state, be considered to have been within the limits of his lordship's patent.

It may be proper to take some further notice here, of this attempt at colonization by the Swedes, inasmuch as it was made the ground of a charge in the bill in chancery, filed by the Penns, proprietors of Pennsylvania, in the year 1735, against lord Baltimore, in a dispute concerning the bounds of their provinces, that his lordship had set forth, in his petition to the king for his grant, what was not true; that is, that the country for which he prayed a grant, "*was not then cultivated and planted*, though in certain parts thereof, inhabited by certain barbarous people;" by means of which false suggestion, it was contended that his patent was void, at least for so much as was within their claim.*

It appears, that in the year 1626, under the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, a scheme was formed in that kingdom, for settling a colony in America. This was chiefly promoted by the great commendation which William Ussellin, (or Useling,) an eminent Swedish merchant, gave of the country in the neighbourhood of what was then called New Netherlands, now New Jersey and New York. Gustavus was thereby in-

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Settlement of a colony of Swedes on the Delaware.

* From a MS. copy of the above mentioned bill in chancery, in my possession, the following clause is extracted: "and your orators further show unto your lordship, that on the eastern side of the said peninsula or tract, and also above the said peninsula or tract, within the main land or continent, and towards the sea and the estuary and river of Delaware, there was, of very early and ancient times, (*the beginning whereof is not known*,) a settlement and plantation, made and planted and inhabited by christians of the Swedish nation; and the said settlement and plantation was afterwards held and inhabited in the year 1609, and for many years then after, by christians under the dominion of the states general, of the United Provinces." Mr. Murray, (afterwards lord Mansfield,) who drew this bill, was certainly misinformed as to two facts exhibited in this allegation. No authentic history has ever yet undertaken to show, that the Swedes were settled on the Delaware, in "times the beginning whereof is not known," nor indeed prior to the year 1627, as is stated in Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania; and it is, moreover, entirely inconsistent with the early events of the History of Virginia, wherein no circumstance to that purpose is recognized. The other fact stated, seems to be in consequence thereof, evidently groundless, to wit: that the Dutch had "*afterwards, in the year 1609*, held and inhabited the said settlement of the Swedes." Now it seems to be agreed on all sides, that captain Hudson did not make his *voyage of discovery*, under the authority of the Dutch, until the year 1609; and it was not until the next year, (1610,) that the Dutch colony was sent out, which settled on Manhattan (now New York) island. It would necessarily take some years for them to have extended their *possessions and habitations* to the Delaware. Accordingly, the historian of Pennsylvania, (Proud,) makes the first settlement of the Dutch on the Delaware, to have been in the year 1623, "near Gloucester, in New Jersey;" which apparently indicates, that their first exploring excursions to the Delaware were from Manhattan across the Jersies; and this was, as Proud asserts, "before any of the *Swedes* came into America." See Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, p. 110.

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duced to issue a proclamation, exhorting his subjects to contribute to a company associated for the settlement of a colony in that country. Considerable sums were raised by contribution; and in the next year, (1627,) a number of Swedes and Fins came over to America. They first landed at Cape *Inlopen*, the interior cape of Delaware bay,* which, from its pleasant appearance to them, they named Paradise-point. They are said to have purchased of some Indians, the land from Cape *Inlopen* to the falls of Delaware, on both sides of the river, which they called *New Swedeland* stream; and made presents to the Indian chiefs, to obtain peaceable possession of the land so purchased: with whom they appear to have lived in much amity;† but they were frequently disturbed by the Dutch settled at Manhattan, now New York, who, extending their territories, which they called New Netherlands, so as to include the western shores of the Delaware, built a fort in the year 1630, on a small creek near Cape *Inlopen* or James, calling it Hoarkill, since called Lewis town.‡ While we are upon this subject, it may not be improper to observe further, that it seems to be agreed by historians, that in the succeeding year, (1631,) the Swedes erected a fort on the west side of Delaware, at a place near Wilmington, upon the river or creek, which still, from the name of the fort, is called *Christina*, or commonly *Christeen*,§ where they had laid out a town, and made their first settlement.

* A note is here made by Mr. Proud, (in his *Hist. of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, p. 111,) as follows: "this cape is frequently confounded with cape *Hinlopen*, the exterior, or the *False Cape*, in *Fenwick's* island, being written in the same manner, and sometimes *Henlopen*; said to be a Swedish word, signifying *entering in*. It was also formerly, sometimes called Cape *Cornelius*, and afterwards by *William Penn*, Cape *James*." From this it would appear, that the aspirate letter H, in the Swedish language, prefixed to the word *Inlopen*, altered the sense of it, from the *interior* to the *exterior* cape, the latter of which was at *Fenwick's* island.

† Smith, in his *Hist. of New Jersey*, says, it is uncertain whether they bought the land of those natives, who could properly convey it. *Holmes's Annals*, vol. 1, p. 242.

‡ The building of this fort at Lewis town, is differently related in *Holmes's Annals*, vol. 1, p. 259, under the year 1630. He says, "the Dutch continuing their pretensions to the land settled by the Swedes, one of the *Swedes* built a fort (this year) within the Capes of Delaware, "at a place called Hoarkill," for which he cites Smith's *Hist. of New Jersey*, 22. So that from him it would seem, that the fort above mentioned was built by the *Swedes*, and not the *Dutch*, as it is stated in Proud's *Hist. of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, p. 113; from whence what is said above in the text here, is taken.

§ This is sometimes corruptly spelt *Christiana*, but as the name of Gustavus's mother was *Christina*, and he had a daughter, born in 1626, called *Christina*, who succeeded him as queen of Sweden, and was much celebrated in history, it is probable that *Christina* is the true name of the fort and creek.

Supposing this settlement of the Swedes at Christina, in the year 1631, to have been the first *permanent* settlement made by them on the Delaware, as it would appear to be, although temporary habitations might have been created by them before that time at Hoarkill, or other places, *for the purposes of traffic* with the natives, it goes very far to justify the suggestion of lord Baltimore before mentioned, that the territories for which he prayed a grant, were "hitherto unsettled; which receives further confirmation by the possibility of his being ignorant of the first trafficking voying of the Swedes to the Delaware, in the year 1627, which was but the year preceding that of his visit to Virginia. But allowing that he had full knowledge of the arrival of the Swedes in the Delaware, in the year 1627, it was natural for him to have considered them only as interlopers, intruding into the British dominions;* and therefore, in his representation to his majesty, not entitled to be considered as persons, whose settlements could obstruct his grant. The Dutch, whatever their subsequent claims might have been, had then certainly made no

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* That all other nations who attempted to make settlements in any part of North America, especially in those parts of it lying between the colonies of Virginia and New England, were considered by the English at this time as intruders within their dominions, is evident not only from the preceding expedition of captain Argall, against the French and Dutch as before mentioned, but from their subsequent contest with the Dutch about their settlement at Manhattan. This claim of theirs was founded on the right of prior discovery by Sebastian Cabot; to demonstrate which, a small tract or essay was drawn up by some anonymous writer, most probably towards the end of the Dutch war in 1654, but published in Thurloe's State Papers, under the year 1656; (see it in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 602,) entitled "A Brief Narration of the English Rights to the Northern parts of America;" in which the author, after some laboured reasoning, and metaphysical distinction between *general* and *particular* rights, concludes, "that as the general and particular rights of the English to those northern parts of America, are so plainly and perspicuously laid down, so upon a due examination it will be found, that the Dutch have no right at all, either in the general or particular, but *have intruded into and anticipated the English in their rights.*" Agreeably to this right of the English, preparations were made by the New Englanders, in 1654, for conquering the Dutch settlement at Manhattan; but Oliver, desirous that the two sister republics, the English and Dutch, should be well with each other, clapped up a sudden peace in April, 1654, which put an end to the hostile intentions of New England, and left the Dutch for some years in quiet possession of New Netherlands. In the next year, (1655,) the Dutch made a conquest of all the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. Smith's Hist. of New York, 18, 19: but Oliver, charmed with the fine character of Charles X. king of Sweden, made a treaty with him in the year 1656, in which he promised to grant such of his majesty's Swedish subjects as should be recommended by him, "special license" to trade in America. See Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 605, and Hume's Hist. ch. 61.

SEC. IX. permanent settlements within the limits of his grant. With regard to the extent of his patent to the fortieth degree of latitude, (inclusive,) it is to be observed, that the latitudes of the different places of such a new country, must have been subject to much error, being often taken and so set down by unskilful persons; and, as lord Hardwicke observed, in the great case of these two proprietors, (the Penns and lord Baltimore,) before referred to, it is a fact, that latitudes were then fixed much lower than they have been since found to be by more accurate observations. A mistake of the latitude, in extending his northern bounds, might therefore have been very unintentionally made.*

The Virginians oppose the lord Baltimore's scheme.

As both the second and third charters of Virginia, before mentioned, unquestionably comprehended the whole of the country afterwards called Maryland, it was to be expected that the colonists of Virginia, would make some objections to any grant, whereby a part of their territory should be lopped off from them and transferred to others. But, although some apprehensions on this ground of supposed injury to them in their rights, were artfully raised among them, so as to induce them in a few years afterwards, to prefer a petition to the king and council, against any grant of their territory to lord Baltimore, as will hereafter be seen in its proper place; yet it appears, that they had too much discernment, not to perceive, on more mature reflection, that a colony planted so near to them as that of Maryland, so far from being injurious, would be highly beneficial to them, particularly in contributing to their greater security from the hostile invasions of the savages. And when we reflect upon the enormous extent of those territories included within the lines of their charters, to wit: "from the point of land called *Cape* or *Point Comfort*, along the sea-coast to the northward, two hundred miles, and in equal distance to the southward, and from sea to sea, west and northwest;" that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, it leaves the question of policy, and indeed of right and justice, easily to be decided at this day. We may here further observe, that inasmuch as these charters of Virginia had been all annulled by the judgment of the court of king's bench, in the year 1624, (whether rightfully or not, could not be questioned but in a legal manner, by writ of error or appeal to a superior tribunal,) all political right of the colonists in Virginia to any territory whatever, except to the particular tracts which each

* See note (H) at the end of this volume, before referred to.

individual colonist occupied, must have been taken away from them by such judgment until reversed. It seems, therefore, with regard to the colonists in Virginia, in a corporate capacity, to have been an act perfectly justifiable in lord Baltimore to apply for, as well as lawful for the king to grant, all that territory included within the lines of his patent.

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But the most formidable objection raised against his grant, seems to have been founded on a circumstance, apparently immaterial to the public, however it might interfere with the private rights of some individuals. It has been alleged, on a variety of occasions, that settlements had been established by the Virginians, under the authority of William Clayborne, within the country afterwards denominated Maryland, prior to the date of his lordship's charter of grant for the same,* and that as it was suggested therein, that the country was *hitherto unsettled*, "*hactenus inculta*," his grant became thereby void. But it seems to be extraordinary, that although history recognizes this objection as being frequently made, yet it furnishes no authentic proof of the fact on which it is founded. If lord Baltimore's visit to Virginia was in the year 1628, as we have supposed on the authority of the History of Virginia, before cited,† there are some established facts in history, which seem to indicate very strongly, that at the time of *his visit* to Virginia, whatever there were at the time of his grant, no such settlements had been made. Temporary habitations, for the purposes of traffic with the natives, might have been before that time erected, both on the isle of Kent and at the mouth of the Susquehanah, as contended; but these were certainly not such settlements as could preclude the right of the crown to grant, or the justice and policy of planting in that country a numerous colony. It may be proper, however, to investigate the claim of William Clayborne a little more minutely.

When king James had caused the charters of Virginia to be dissolved by a judgment in the court of king's bench, as before mentioned, and had vested the supreme direction of the affairs of Virginia, in a provincial council, in England, he afterwards, also, as before observed, issued his commission, bearing date the 26th day of August, 1624, to Sir Francis Wyat, and others, vesting the government in Virginia, in a governor and council,

William
Clay-
borne's
claim.

* June 20th, 1632.

† "Ancient Records," mentioned in Burk's Hist. of Virginia, as before cited.

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1628. of the council, was William Clayborne. From whence we may infer, that he was then, or shortly afterwards became, a resident in Virginia; and was a man, who by some merit, had attracted the royal notice. When king Charles, on the death of his father, renewed the commission for the government of Virginia, to Sir George Yardley, and others, of the 4th of March, 1625, Clayborne was continued as one of the council. Moreover, in the same commission, towards the conclusion thereof, he was appointed secretary of state in Virginia, in the following remarkable expressions: "and forasmuch as the affairs of state of the said colony and plantation, may necessarily require some person of *quality and trust*, to be employed as secretary, for the writing and answering of such letters, as shall be from time to time directed to, or sent from the said governor and council of the colony aforesaid, our will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents, nominate and assign you the said William Clayborne, to be our secretary of state, of and for the said colony and plantation of Virginia, residing in those parts; giving, and by these presents granting unto you, the said William Clayborne, full power and authority to do, execute, and perform all and every thing and things whatsoever, to the said office of secretary of state, of and for the said colony and plantation of Virginia, incident and appertaining." By the subsequent commission to John Harvey, esquire, and others, of the 26th of March, 1627, for the government of Virginia, Clayborne was again continued one of the council, and re-appointed secretary of state, in the same words just cited from the former commission;* from whence we are enabled to collect some ideas of the character and standing of this gentleman, who afterwards proved so troublesome to lord Baltimore and the early settlers of Maryland. As it seems to have been a practice with many of the first colonists of Virginia, especially those of note and influence, to endeavour to derive some emolument to themselves, by carrying on a traffic or bartering with the Indian natives, particularly those inhabiting the shores of the Chesapeake, for their peltry, and such other commodities as would afford a profit, when sold in the province, or exported to Europe, we find that Mr. Clayborne was one of those, who availing himself of his station and influ-

* For these several commissions relative to Clayborne, see Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, pp. 189, 230, 234.

ence, early sought to better his fortunes in this way. It appears also, that during the years 1627–28–29, the governors of Virginia gave authority to William Clayborne, “the secretary of state of this kingdom,” as that most ancient dominion was then called, to discover the source of the bay of Chesapeake, or any part of that government, from the 34th to the 41st degree of north latitude. This was, as a learned annalist alleges, in pursuance of particular instructions from Charles the first to the governors of Virginia to procure exact information of the rivers and the country.* Under this authority or commission for making discoveries in the Chesapeake, it would appear, that Mr. Clayborne first availed himself of the opportunity of establishing a system of traffic with the natives on the shores of the upper parts of that bay, and most probably first fixed some trading-houses, for that purpose, on the isle of Kent. But it seems, that this species of traffic could not lawfully be carried on without a spe-

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* Chalmers’s Annals, ch. ix. note 12, who cites Virg. papers, 75 B. p. 133–4; to which he adds the following remark. “Thus were the boundaries of Virginia extended “in those years to the 41st degree of latitude, where New England began; and we may thence *infer*, that, though the subjects of other nations traded with the aborigines in the bay of Delaware, yet no settlements had been then formed on either margin of it by the Dutch or Swedes.” However erroneous this inference of the annalist may appear, yet the prior part of his remark will be found to be very important, when we come to animadvert on the subsequent disputes between the proprietors of the two provinces—Maryland and Pennsylvania. It demonstrates, that the sense of the government of Virginia was, at the time of these instructions for discoveries in the Chesapeake, that the limits of their province extended as far northward as to the *forty-first* degree of latitude, which must have been *inclusive* of the *fortieth* degree. The third and last charter of Virginia, of March 12th, 1611–12, expressly enlarged their boundaries to that degree of latitude; and the charter of New England, (before cited, of November 3d, 1620,) commences the south bounds of New England “*from the fortieth degree.*” Hence lord Baltimore in his charter extended his lines northward to the northward extremity of Virginia, “unto that part of the bay of Delaware in the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England is terminated.”

These remarks receive further corroboration also from a commission of a similar nature, stated by Burk, in his Hist. of Virginia, (vol. 2, p. 32,) granted by the governor of Virginia (Harvey,) in the year 1629, “to captain Nathaniel Bass to trade between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude, or to sail to New England, Nova Scotia, or the West Indies. The instructions of Bass,” (as Burk proceeds in stating the commission,) “contain some particulars deserving notice. He is desired to invite the inhabitants, particularly those of New England, to emigrate to Virginia: and to offer Delaware bay to such as were inclined from the coldness of their climate and the barrenness of their soil, to settle in Virginia: He was directed to sell them corn at twenty-five shillings per barrel, or fifteen, if they exported it; and to open a trade for goats, cattle, and hogs on reasonable terms.”

SEC. IX. cial license either from the king himself or the governor of the province; for reasons founded, without doubt, in the personal danger of the colonists in general, by too indiscriminate an intercourse with the natives, especially in furnishing them with fire-arms and teaching the use of them. It would seem also, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, chief of the numerous patentees under the before mentioned New England charter of 1620, had in the succeeding year, 1621, consented to a sub-grant of a part of their territories to Sir William Alexander, under the denomination of *Nova Scotia*; supposing that the patronage of Sir William, being then king James's secretary of state for Scotland, and a person of considerable influence at that time, would much promote the success of the company.* William Clayborne also by some means had insinuated himself into the good graces of the Scotch secretary, under a pretence of promoting an interchange of trade between the colonies of *New England*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Virginia*, as through him to obtain a license, under the hand of king Charles, (and, as it seems, under his signet for Scotland,) bearing date, May 16th, 1631, "to trade in all seas, &c. in or near about those parts of *America*." For the more effectual execution of this license, command also was therein given to the governor of Virginia—Sir John Harvey, to permit the said Clayborne and his company, "freely to repair and trade to and again in all the aforesaid parts, as they should think fit and their occasions should require."† In about ten

* Chalmers observes, (in his *Annals*, ch. iv.) that "the ingenious writings of this gentleman," (Sir William Alexander,) "promoted the interests of colonization, by enflaming the spirit of emigration."

† Chalmers, in his *Annals*, (ch. ix. note 13,) has given us a copy of the license, above alluded to, (from *Virg. pap.* 75 B. p. 131,) with this prefatory remark:—"The following royal license is subjoined; because it is the most ancient state paper of Maryland; it laid a train of numerous woes to that province; by giving an interested man a pretence to claim a large part of it.

"Charles Rex.

"Whereas our trusty and well beloved William Clayborne, one of the council and secretary of state for our colony of Virginia, and some other adventurers, which with him have condescended, with our trusty and well beloved councillor, Sir William Alexander, knight, our principal secretary of state for our kingdom of Scotland, and others of our loving subjects, who have charge over our colonies of New England and Nova Scotia, to keep a course for interchange of trade among them as they shall have occasion, as also to make discoveries for increase of trade in those parts; and because we do very much approve of all such worthy intentions, and are desirous to give good encouragement to their proceedings therein, being for the relief and comfort of those our subjects, and enlargement of our dominions: These are to license and authorise you, the said William Clayborne, his associates, and company, freely, without interruption, from time

months afterwards Clayborne applied to Sir John Harvey, the SEC. IX.
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governor of Virginia, for a commission "to sail and traffic unto the adjoining plantations of the *Dutch* seated upon this territory of America." A commission was accordingly granted to him by the governor, bearing date the 8th of March, 1631, (the 18th of March, 1632, N. S.) "authorising him to go unto the said plantations of the *Dutch*, or unto any *English* plantation, or to such other harbours, rivers, and places, as he shall find occasion; praying all governors, captains, and commanders, to afford to him all lawful favour and respect."*—Now it is very obvious,

to time, to trade for corn, furs, or any other commodity whatsoever, with their ships, boats, men and merchandize, in all seas, coasts, harbours, lands, or territories, in or near about those parts of America, for which there is not already a patent granted to others for sole trade; and, to that effect, we command you and every one of you, and particularly our trusty and well beloved Sir John Harvey, knight, governor, and the rest of our council of our colony of Virginia, to permit him and them, with their ships, mariners, merchandize, servants, and such as shall willingly accompany or be employed by them from time to time, freely to repair and trade to and again in all the aforesaid parts as they shall think fit and their occasions shall require, without any hindrance whatsoever, as you and every of you will answer the contrary at your perils; Giving, and by these presents granting, unto the said William Clayborne, full power to direct and govern, correct and punish, such of our subjects as shall be under his command in his voyages and discoveries; and for his so doing these presents shall be a sufficient warrant. Given at our manor of East Greenwich, the 16th of May, in the seventh year of our reign, 1631.

"To our trusty and well beloved our governor and council of Virginia, and to all our lieutenants of provinces and countries in America, governors and others having charge of colonies of any of our subjects, captains and masters of ships, and, generally, to all our subjects whatsoever, whom these presents do or may concern."

On this license Chalmers has subjoined a further remark.—"This paper was evidently drawn by Sir William Alexander, and afterwards passed under the privy signet of Scotland: what right within an English colony could that convey?"

* This commission from Sir John Harvey is also published in Chalmers's *Annals*, (ch. ix. note 14,) as "the second state paper of Maryland;" for which he cites *Virg. pap. 75, B. p. 130*;—and is as follows:—

"To all to whom these presents shall come. I, Sir John Harvey, knight, governor and captain-general of Virginia, send greeting, in our Lord God everlasting. Whereas my trusty and well beloved friend, William Clayborne, esquire, and one of the council of state for this colony, hath desired, for increase of trade, to obtain this my commission to sail and traffic unto the adjoining plantations of the *Dutch* seated upon this territory of America; which may tend to an intermutual benefit, wherein we may be useful to one another: Now know ye, that I, the said Sir John Harvey, out of the good opinion I conceive of the discretion and understanding of the said capt. William Clayborne, do, by these presents, with the consent of the council of state, authorise him, with the first convenience of wind and weather, to set sail from hence, in such barques and pinnaces, and with such companies of men, as shall willingly accompany him to

SEC. IX. 1628. from a perusal of these two several commissions and a fair construction of them, that neither of them mention or apparently refer in the slightest degree to any plantations or settlements, or indeed to any traffic in the Chesapeake. It is evident, that first—the king's license, was intended only to promote a trade between the colonies of Virginia, New England, and Nova Scotia; in the last of which Sir William Alexander, without doubt, felt himself somewhat interested, although he had, the year before, sold the greatest part of that territory to Sir Clande St. Estienne; upon the express condition, however, that he (Sir Clande,) and those claiming under him, should continue to be faithful subjects of the king of Scotland.* The other commission, from the governor of Virginia, does not appear to have been granted in pursuance of or in obedience to the command expressed in that of the king, no reference thereto being mentioned in it; but as stated in the preamble, and apparently understood by the governor and council of Virginia, it appears to have been granted solely in contemplation of a *trade with the Dutch*; which meant, most probably, the Dutch colony at Manhattan;† for, although the Dutch might by this time have commenced some settlements on the Delaware, yet they must have been only temporary settlements for traffic with the natives, and not an object justifying the expense of a sea-voyage, as the governor's commission purported. The recommendation of Clayborne also, in the commission, to "all governors," &c. shews, that it could not have been meant as a license to trade in the Chesapeake.—But, supposing these licenses or commissions for trade extended every where throughout America, "for which there was not not already a patent granted to others for sole trade," it is impossible, by any subtlety of interpretation, to con-

go unto the said plantations of the Dutch, or unto any English plantation, or to such other harbours, rivers, and places, as he shall find occasions; praying all governors, captains, and commanders, to afford to him and them all lawful favour and respect, they behaving themselves fairly and honestly in all things: Giving, and by these presents granting, unto him, the said captain William Clayborne, full power and authority to direct and govern such persons as shall accompany him in his said voyage. Given at James-city, the 8th of March, A. D. after the computation of the church of England, 1631; and in the five and twentieth year of this southern colony of Virginia.

JOHN HARVEY."

* See this grant in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 307.

† Of this opinion is Chalmers, who subjoins to the last cited commission to Clayborne, a "remark;" wherein he clearly shews, that the "adjoining plantations of the Dutch," must have meant "the Dutch plantations at Manhattans."

strue either of them as *a grant of territory* in any part of the soil of America ; and so the lords commissioners of plantations thought, in the year 1639, when the matter came before them, as will be hereafter seen at large in their proceedings upon it.— Upon the whole view of the subject then, it appears, that if Clayborne had, prior to these licenses of 1631 and 1632, formed any settlements either on the isle of Kent or at the mouth of the Susquehanah, they must have been unauthorized settlements made under the exploring instructions before mentioned for discoveries in the Chesapeake, or special licenses by the governor of Virginia for trafficking with the natives. It could not possibly have entered into the head of lord Baltimore, at the time of his visit to Virginia, even if he had been then apprised of such unauthorised settlements within the territories for which he afterwards prayed a grant, that these settlements could ever have been raised up as objections of any validity against his charter.

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It has been deemed necessary, to state the preceding circumstances, relative to the objections against lord Baltimore's grant, in order to show what was the real situation of the country thereby granted to him, at the time of his visit to Virginia, in the year 1628. From all which, it would seem, that his lordship might have returned to England, with the intention of soliciting a grant of all that country, which he subsequently denominated Maryland, and with a thorough conviction in his own mind, that it was then, in the year 1628, uninhabited by any but savages, and with the most perfect honesty and integrity of conduct, suggested to the king, that the country for which he desired a patent, was, as that instrument expresses it, "*hactenus inculta*," hitherto unsettled.

It is probable, that lord Baltimore did not take his departure from Virginia, until the following year. As few of the minute incidents of this nobleman's life have reached us, we are not informed whether he returned from thence to his province in Newfoundland, or to England; it is most probable, to the former. He is said to have made two visits to his colony at Ferryland; and that, in his second visit to that place, Great Britain being then at war with France, he was so fortunate as to perform some considerable services in recovering above twenty sail of English ships, which had been taken by a French squadron, and in capturing several of the enemy's fishing ships on the coast. As this war had been commenced by England against France, rather

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Lord Baltimore returns to England, and relinquishes his views of a settlement in Newfoundland.

SEC. IX. suddenly, about April, 1627, without any previous proclamation, and indeed without any just cause, through the instigation of the unprincipled Buckingham, then the sole director of all affairs in England, and who was regardless of every thing but his own interest and pleasures, there is no wonder that the vast number of English ships, which then frequented the coast of Newfoundland,* should have been left unprotected, and a prey to the first French force that might be sent against them. How lord Baltimore accomplished the recovery of these English ships, or the capture of the French fishing vessels, which were most probably unarmed, we are not informed. A sort of *petit guerre*, however, seems to have been carried on at this time between the English and French, in this part of America. The valuable right of fishery on the banks, to which the French had never relinquished their pretensions, was, without doubt, some cause of contest. In this year also, (1629,) a successful attack was made by a certain David Kertk, a French refugee and Hugonot, with his two sons, under the English banners, and with a considerable English force, upon the feeble settlement which the enterprising Champlain, was then endeavouring to support at Quebec. But, peace being made between the two countries, in the early part of this year, though probably not known in America until these events had past, Quebec and Canada were afterwards restored, and the French left to pursue their schemes of settlements and trade on the St. Lawrence, and the western shores of Newfoundland. These circumstances, together with the discouraging appearances of the climate and soil of the country, soon convinced his lordship, that it would never answer his purposes in colonization. Having found the country on the shores of the Chesapeake so much better suited to his plans, we may suppose, that

1630. in the succeeding year he returned to England, with the intention of exerting his influence at the English court, to obtain a grant thereof.

1632. It seems to have been considered by the king and his ministers, about this time, that on the dissolution of the charters of Virginia, as before mentioned, a right vested in the crown of

Obtains the promise of a

* It appears from Smith's Hist. of Virginia, as cited by Mr. Holmes, (in his Annals, vol. 1, p. 237,) under the year 1626, that the coast of Newfoundland, for most of the late years, was frequented by two hundred and fifty sail of English vessels, estimated at fifteen thousand tons, employing five thousand persons, and making an annual profit of about one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling.

subdividing or re-granting such parts of the territories of Virginia formerly included within the lines of these charters, as had not before been parcelled out into small tracts to particular individuals. The king being under this impression, and lord Baltimore standing high in his personal esteem, the latter found little difficulty in procuring from his majesty, the promise of a grant of such a tract of country as his lordship then described to him. But before a charter or patent for that purpose could be finally adjusted, and pass the seals, his lordship died, on the 15th of April 1632. He left several sons; but Cecilius Calvert being his eldest, and by the laws of England, heir not only to his father's title, but perhaps to the bulk of his estate, the charter of grant, intended for his father, was, it seems, without hesitation, on the 20th of June following, executed to Cecilius, now become also, baron of Baltimore, in the kingdom of Ireland. It was intended, it is said, that the country granted by this charter, should have been called *Crescentia*; but when it was presented to the king for his signature, in conformity to his majesty's wishes, the name of the province was changed to that of Maryland, in honour of his queen, Henrietta Maria, a daughter of the great king Henry IV. of France.

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grant of
the pro-
vince of
Maryland.
which is-
given, on
his death,
to his son
Cecilius.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE (A) p. 10.

THE reader ought to be apprized, that no circumstance attending modern history has occasioned more anachronisms than the variation of the commencement of the year in the computation of the christian era. To this may be referred the difference of opinion among different historians, not only as to the date of this commission to John Cabot, but as to the real date also of the voyage performed in consequence of it, either by him or his son Sebastian.

Although the period of time denominated a *year* is founded in nature, being the measure of time while the earth is performing its annual revolution round the sun, and therefore can never vary, yet the commencement of that year, like a point in the periphery of a circle, may be arbitrarily fixed upon without affecting its length or circumvolution. Hence different nations have fixed upon different periods of time for the commencement of their year, which has been commonly regulated by some remarkable event, from which as an epocha they compute their era. Agreeably to this, the christian era is commonly supposed to be computed from the first existence of Christ upon earth, that is, when God first assumed a mortal nature, whether that be at the time of his *incarnation* or *nativity*. But this mode of computation did not take place among the christians until more than five hundred years had elapsed from that remarkable epocha. Prior to this time the generality of christians computed, either from the building of Rome, or according to such other computation as was in use with the people among whom they lived; if with the Jews from the creation of the world, or with the Greeks according to the Olympiads. But as the number of christians had in the sixth century very much increased, both in Greece and Italy, and from that circumstance began to assume somewhat more important consideration than formerly, and the eastern and western or Greek and Latin churches experiencing some inconvenience from their different mode of computing time, it was proposed, by an abbot of Rome, called Dyonisius Exiguus, to adopt a new form of the year, with a new general era, which, consonant to their religion, should commence with the first existence of Christ upon earth, in a mortal nature. This proposition was adopted by the christians, and the *incarnation* or time when Christ entered the virgin's womb was fixed as the great event or epocha from which they were to calculate their era; but they retained the Roman division of the year into months, as also the names of those months. It is to be observed, that the Romans had ever since the time of Numa Pompilius commenced their year on the calends of January, that is, on the first day of that month; but the christians now, from a pious zeal in their own religion, having fixed upon the *incarnation* which according to the Roman computation of the months, they ascertained to be the 25th of March, as the day of the commencement of their era, fixed that day also as the day upon which their year was in future to com-

mence. This prevailed for some time, but as it occurred to some good christians, that the years of a man's life were not numbered from the time of his conception, but from that of his birth, which must have been nine months afterwards, a difference in the commencement of the year took place among the christian churches throughout Europe, some adopting the day of Christ's *birth*, to wit, the 25th of December, as the commencement of the year, others adhering to that of his *incarnation*, and others again to the old Roman method of the calends of January, which last happened to be also the day of Christ's *circumcision*. The result was, that different nations, and indeed different writers, considering the subject rather in a temporal than in an ecclesiastical point of view, regulated the commencement of their *civil* year in their own way, still however computing from the supposed commencement of the christian era; from which disagreement it is supposed, that an error of one year at least, if not two, in the number of years elapsed of the christian era, has crept into the vulgar computation now geneerally in use throughout Christendom.

Although the Roman calendar had been regulated by Numa Pompilius, and afterwards by Julius Cæsar, yet as astronomy was far from being so completely understood in those days as it was afterwards even in the sixteenth century, it was found in the lapse of several centuries, that the Roman computation disagreed much with the motion of the earth, and that the holy feast of Easter, which was dependent on the vernal equinox, had got quite out of its place. Pope Gregory, therefore, in the year 1582, to counteract so great an inconvenience to the church, procured a thorough correction of the Roman calendar, and by a bull commanded all the Catholic states of Europe to adopt his correction, prescribing in the same bull also, that the commencement of the year should for the future be on the first day of January. This regulation, as may be supposed, was conformed to by most of the Catholic states: but the Protestants at first peremptorily refused to receive it; though at last, from the obvious propriety of the measure, it met with a general reception even among them. England, Russia, and Sweden held out in opposition to it longer than any, and it was not till the year 1751, that an act of parliament was made, (stat. 25, Geo. 2, cap. 23,) prescribing the first day of January to be deemed for the future, throughout all the British dominions, the first day of the year, and such alterations in the common English calendar were directed also as brought it to be the same as the Gregorian, then generally in use throughout the most of Europe.

As the British colonies in America, now United States, naturally adopted the mode of computation practised by their mother country, it is materially important to them to know the computation used in England by the historians of that country from the adoption of the christian era in the time of Dyonisius before mentioned, or at least from the time of the first British settlements in America, to the alteration of the style in the year 1751. It is alleged by Dr. A. Holmes, in his very judicious work—"American Annals," (Note I, annexed to his second vol.) "that *Beda*," (sometimes called the *venerable Bede*, the oldest English historian except one, and who lived from the year 673 to that of 735, about a century after Dyonisius Exiguus,) "took the Christian era from Dyonisius, and used it in all his writings; and by that recommendation of it occasioned its adoption and use in Great Britain, and the western parts of Europe." Although the Doctor does not expressly allege in the above cited note, that *Bede* adopted the *commencement of the year* used by Dyonisius, to wit, the *incarnation*, the 25th of March, yet in the text to which it is subjoined he strongly leaves that inference. But I find that a contrary opinion as to *Bede* is held by the anonymous writer of a learned "Dissertation on the ancient manner of dating the beginning of the year," (published in the Annual Register for 1759, a few years after the last alteration of the style in England,) who is of opinion that *Bede* commenced the

year at the *nativity* of Christ, at least in some instances, and cites a passage from him in proof thereof, wherein he plainly places January among the first and not among the later months of the year. The same writer proceeds to trace this subject in the following manner;—"From *Bede's* time quite down to the Norman conquest, the constant way of computation seems to be from *Christmas-day*. The *Saxon Chronicle* also, (which comprises a period from the birth of Christ to the death of king Stephen in the year 1154,) begins the year from the *nativity* of our Lord."

"After the conquest, *Gervase*, a monk of Canterbury, in the preface to his chronicle, takes notice of many different ways of computation in his time, that is, at the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century. He says, that some computed from the *annunciation*, some from the *nativity*, some from the *circumcision*, and others from the *passion* of our Lord. The solar year, continues he, according to the custom of the Romans, and of the church of God, beginning from the calends of January, (circumcision-day;) but he rather chooses to fix the commencement of it to *Christmas-day*, because we compute the age of men from the day of their birth."

"This shows there was no standing, fixed rule of computation in *Gervase's* time; and the following observation confirms it, not only in his age, but also for several centuries after him. Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Ralph de Diceto, and Polydore Virgil, place the coronation of William the conqueror upon Christmas-day, A. D. 1067, that is, these authors begin their new-year with that day, at least in this instance; whereas Thomas Walsingham, Roger de Hoveden and John Brompton, all refer it to Christmas-day, A. D. 1066, which proves that they do not in this place begin the year till after that day."

This writer further observes, that "Thomas Walsingham, who lived in the fifteenth century, although he was one of the most accurate of our monkish historians, does not always count from the same day." He adduces two instances to prove, that "he sometimes begins the year from the *circumcision*," (first day of January,) "and sometimes from the *nativity*," (twenty-fifth day of December;) for which he supposes the reason to be, "that in his *Ypodigma Neustræ*, he writes as a Norman, and that they computed the year only from the *circumcision*, whereas in his *History of England* he writes as an Englishman, who in his time," (about the time of Cabot's voyage,) "generally reckoned from the *nativity*."

"Hitherto nothing of our late custom of computing from the *annunciation*, has appeared in any of our old historians, except the bare mention of it in *Gervase*. There is good reason to think it began about the beginning of the reign of king Edward, IV.; "which was in 1461. In confirmation of this the author of this dissertation adduced the history of Croyland Abbey, and also a biographical account of William of Wickham, written by Thomas Chandler, who was chancellor of Oxford from 1458 to 1462, who dates the beginning of the year from the *annunciation*, and "about 15 or 16 years after," he says, "this custom" of beginning the year with the *annunciation*, that is, the 25th of March, "seems to have been fully settled."—This deduces the practice of the English historians nearly down to the time of Cabot's commission.

"At the reformation in England, in Henry the eighth's reign, in the early part of the sixteenth century, both the civil and the ecclesiastical authority interposed, to fix the commencement of the year to the feast of the *annunciation*, by adding the following rubric to the calendar immediately after the table of moveable feasts for 40 years, viz. "Note, That the supputation of the year of our Lord, in the Church of England, beginneth the 25th of March, the same day supposed to be the first day upon which the world was created, and the day when Christ was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary;" which stood thus

down to the Savoy conference, soon after the restoration, when it was thought proper to retain the order, and drop the reason given for it, and in this shape it was continued down to the late parliamentary correction of the calendar, (in 1751,) which brings it back to the first of January, and is indeed the only legal settlement of it for civil affairs, for the rubric above mentioned settles only the supputation of the Church of England, and says nothing of the civil government, which seems to have never used any other date than that of the king's reign, till after the restoration, not even in common deeds. During the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, the years of our Lord seem to have been introduced, because they did not choose to date by the years of the King's reign, and continued for convenience afterwards, without the interposition of legal authority."

"Our neighbours the Scots, from time immemorial, have invariably observed the 25th day of March as the first day of the year, till November 27th, 1599, when the following entry was made in the books of the privy council: *On Monday proclamation made be the king's warrant, ordaining the first of January, in tyme coming, to be the beginning of the New-Year, which they have as constantly followed ever since.*"

As supplementary to the foregoing extracts from the before mentioned dissertation, it may be observed, that the neighbouring kingdom of France had also different dates for the commencement of their year at different periods of time. "During the reigns of the Merovingian race, the French *year* began on the day whereon the troops were reviewed, which was on the first day of March. Under the Carolingians it began on Christmas-day; and under the Capetians, on Easter day, which last still remains the beginning of the French *ecclesiastical year*," (unless altered by the late revolution,) "but for the *civil year*, Charles IX., appointed in 1564, but a few years before the pope's bull for that purpose before mentioned,) that for the future it should commence on the *first* of January." See *Chambers's dictionary, verb. year.*

It will be acknowledged, we may suppose, that this variance in the commencement of the year would not affect the dates of any events mentioned to have occurred *out* of the space of time contained between the first of January and the twenty-fifth of March. It is true that those who compute the christian era from the *incarnation* or 25th of March, vary one whole year from those who compute it from the calends of January; but that variance is only in the number of years which have elapsed from the birth of Christ. It does not affect the date of any intervening event, occurring in the space of time to which those who calculate from different commencements of the year, affix the same date as to the year, that is, in the space of time between the 25th of March and the first of January next succeeding. To save much reasoning, necessary to elucidate this, I will beg leave to cite a scientific authority upon the subject. In *Keil's Astronomical Lectures*, (lec. 23,) published before the alteration of the style in 1751, are the following passages;—"The English reckon from the feast of lady-day, 1718, (that is, from the 25th of March, 1718,) that there are completed 1717 years; but from the birth of our Lord, to the feast of the Nativity of the year 1717, they number only 1716 years elapsed; whereas all the rest of the christian world count 1717 years.—But yet for all this, the English, for the greatest part of the year, design it by the same number that the rest of the christian world does; but for three months, viz. from the calends of January to the 8th of the calends of April," (that is, from the first day of January to the twenty-fifth day of March,) "they write one less." This is illustrated by the instance put by our American annalist, Dr. Holmes, in the note last cited from him; "it was customary" (says he) "to give a *double date* from the 1st of January to the 25th of March. Thus, February 8th, 1721, was written February 8th, 17 $\frac{20}{21}$." This demonstrates, that in the remaining part of the year there was no difference between the English

and the rest of Europe, as to the date of the year. It is true that the ten days thrown out by pope Gregory, in his reformation of the calendar, made that much difference from the English computation, in the days of the months, but as to the date of the year, which is the present question, it has no effect.

Hence, therefore, as the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. who made this patent to Cabot, and whose reign is therein alluded to, is an event which occurs in that part of the year, wherein all "the christian world" agree in their number, and this too whether it be fixed on the day of his accession to the throne, when he gained the battle of Bosworth from Richard III., which was on the 22d day of August, 1485, or on the day of his coronation, which was on the 30th of October following, in the same year, and the patent or commission to John Cabot bears date on the 5th of March, in the *eleventh* year of the reign of Henry VII., we are enabled to affix to this commission the year of Christ, as well as that of the reign of the king. For, calculating the commencement of his reign from either of those events, to wit, the battle of the coronation, it will be found, that the 5th of March in the *eleventh* year of his reign, must be either in the year 1495 or 1496, according to the time of the commencement of the year 1496. If the commencement of the year 1496 is fixed on the 25th of March, agreeably to *old style*, the 5th of March of the *eleventh* year of his reign, will undoubtedly be in the year 1495, which is the year to which Hackluit, Harris, and Robertson have referred the date of this commission; but if the commencement of the year 1496 is fixed on the first day of January, agreeably to *new style*, the 5th of March of the *eleventh* year of his reign will be in the year of Christ, 1496, to which year Rymer, Rapin and Chalmers have referred its date.

Before this subject is closed, it will be proper to take notice of another note subjoined by Dr. Holmes in the *first* volume of his "American Annals," (p. 15, anno 1495.) It is as follows: "Henry was crowned Oct. 30th, 1485. If *that* year be reckoned the *first* of his reign, this commission is rightly placed by Hackluit, Robertson, and others, in 1495; but, if the first year of his reign be reckoned from 1486, the commission must be placed, where Rymer and some others have placed it, in 1496." This judicious annalist has accordingly adopted the former opinion, and in his work referred the date of the commission to the year 1495. But it must be observed, that his reasoning here is either very inaccurately or very obscurely expressed. The word "from" being always *exclusive*, if the year 1486 is thrown out of the computation of the eleven years altogether, it would place the date of the commission in 1497, contrary to his inference. Although the *end* of "the first year of his reign would undoubtedly be in 1486, to wit, either on the 22d of August, or 30th of October of that year, yet one year of his reign, being then complete and ended, it must be counted as *one* in the computation of the eleven years. The progression then would bring the end of the *tenth* year of his reign to the 22d of August or 30th of October, 1495, when the *eleventh* year of his reign would commence, and would end on the 22d of August, or 30th of October, 1496. It would then be obvious, that the 5th of March in the *eleventh* year of his reign, would be referable either to the year 1495 or 1496, according to the commencement of the year 1496, as before explained. But as the *new style*, that is, the computation of the year from the first day of January, is now generally adopted in the United States, as well as in Europe, perhaps by force of the English statute before mentioned, and when a year is mentioned in history, it is so computed in the mind of almost every reader, unless otherwise expressed, it would seem to be most proper to refer the date of the patent or commission to Cabot and his sons to the year 1496. For the same reason also, the author has thought it best, throughout this work to adjust the chronology of it according to what is called *new style*, commencing the year always on the first of January. It is hoped, therefore, that although the date of

this commission is a matter of little importance, yet, as the same variance in the commencement of the year pervades every part of the early history of the British colonies in America, the reader will excuse the length of this note.

NOTE (B) p. 19.

Mr. Holmes, in his "American Annals," Note I, at the end of his first volume, expresses himself as satisfied, that Cabot sailed as far south as Cape Florida. It is with great diffidence, that I venture on an opinion different from that of so accurate and judicious a writer. The passage which he cites from Peter Martyr, as the ground-work of his opinion, is according to him, thus: "Quare coactus fuit, uti ait, vela vertere, et occidentem sequi: tetenditque tantum ad meridiem, littore sese incurvante, ut Herculei freti latitudinis ferè gradum æquarit: *ad occidentemque pofectus tantum est, ut Cubam insulam a lævo, longitudine graduum pene parem, habuerit.*" To which he immediately afterwards adds,—"Obscure as this passage is, it satisfies me, that Cabot sailed to Cape Florida, which lies in 23 deg. 20 min. north lat." From the manner in which the last sentence of the above passage from Peter Martyr, is printed in his "Annals," (to wit: in Italics,) it is to be inferred, that he laid a stress upon this sentence in particular, as warranting the opinion he gives. But to come fairly at the meaning of the passage, every part of it should be taken into consideration; and it may be thus rendered into English: "Wherefore he was forced, as he says, to turn his course toward the west; and he stretched so far to the south, the shore bending in, as to be almost in the same degree of latitude as the Mediterranean: and he went so far to the west, as to have the island of Cuba lying on his left hand, almost equal in the longitude of degrees." That the word "meridiem" is here to be rendered south is evident, not only because it is often so used according to the best Latin dictionaries, but that otherwise it would be here unintelligible, unless indeed it should be said to mean, "towards the equinoctial line;" in which, it would be synonymous to south in this case. (N. B. In pope Alexander's bull, in 1493, before referred to, which is published at large in the original Latin, in Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 5, the word "meridiem" is used as synonymous to *Antarctic* or South Pole.) Then the extent of Cabot's voyage to the south, is here very clearly confined to the same degree of latitude as the Mediterranean; almost to it, but certainly not beyond it. Now, the mouth of the Mediterranean, or Straits of Gibraltar, are well known to be in about 36° north lat., which brings the voyage here spoken of, along the coast of America no further south than Roanoke, or Albemarle Sound, in North Carolina. But the word "ferè," almost, is not to be altogether rejected as a mere expletive; it plainly intimates that Cabot did not come down to the 36th degree of north latitude, and being indefinite as to the precise minute or degree above 36°, leaves the extent of his voyage southerly, to be collected from circumstances only, with this express restriction, that it did not reach quite to 36°. A strong inference is to be drawn also, from the agreement of so many respectable historians, besides *Oldmixon*, before cited in the text, who speak of Cabot's voyage, as extending southerly only to the 38th degree of north latitude. *Harris*, in his Collection of Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 191, edit. 1748, and *Robertson*, in his History of Virginia, both limit it to the 38th degree. There must have been some solid ground for this coincidence of opinion. *Harris* cites *Robert Fabian*, as expressing himself, that Cabot sailed to the 56th deg. of north lat., "and from thence he ran down to the 38°, along the coast of the continent of America, which, as he (Fabian) says, was afterwards called Florida." *Fabian* lived and wrote in the reign of Henry VII. and must have had some substantial authority for fixing it to the 38°; most probably, from the Journal of the Voyage, then newly published, and fresh in the memory of every literary man. This

agrees also, with what is a well known historical fact, that the Spaniards, after Ponce de Leon's discovery of Florida, gave that name indefinitely, to the whole of the coast connected with the land he discovered, as appears from their subsequent claims, in virtue thereof, to both the Carolinas, even as high up as the 37° of latitude. (See Harris's *Voyages*, Vol. 2, p. 275. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. 44, p. 41.) To proceed, however, with the above extract from Peter Martyr, particularly upon that part printed in Italics by Holmes, and on which he seems to rely; "ad occidentemque profectus tantum est, ut Cubam insulam a lævo, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit." Although this passage is obscure, as he observes, yet I think it may be understood without carrying Cabot down to Cape Florida. Having ascertained how far *south*, or towards the Equinoctial, Cabot went, to wit: not farther than the latitude of the Mediterranean, Peter Martyr then proceeds to show how far *west* he went, and in doing this, he attempts to ascertain the degree of *longitude* to which he went *west*; and it is well known, that the only way of ascertaining the situation of places on the globe, is by ascertaining their latitude and longitude. When he makes use of the expression, "longitudine graduum," longitude of degrees, I understand him to mean *longitude* as ascertained by the *degrees* on the equator, in the same manner as *longitude* is now and was then, calculated from some first meridian, and in contradistinction to the longitude or length of distance, which the ship had run from her place of departure. But the longitude of Cape Maize, the easternmost end of the island of Cuba, is $74^{\circ} 25'$, west from London, as appears from the most authentic tables and maps of the West Indies. A meridian line drawn through Cape Maize, would intersect the coast of North America a little to the north of Cape May, one of the capes of Delaware bay, in about 39° of north latitude. The coast there trending southwesterly, Cabot might still be said to have proceeded *westerly* as soon as he reached the 39° of latitude; and thus proceeding westerly, he might with perfect propriety, be said to have the island of Cuba on his left hand, as soon as he had passed the meridian of Cape Maize, above mentioned. Then from Cape May to the 38° of latitude, (the point of division on the coast, between the states of Maryland and Virginia,) which is contended to be the utmost extent of his voyage towards the *south*, he was sailing with Cuba on his left, agreeable to the passage in Peter Martyr, and still more so, if it is supposed that he extended his coasting voyage to the 36° of latitude. It ought to be remembered, that Peter Martyr and Sebastian Cabot were cotemporaries. When Martyr, therefore, wrote his book *De Orbe Novo*, from whence the preceding passage was probably extracted, his knowledge of the coast of North America, in a relative situation to that of Cuba, must have been very limited indeed; and possessed, as most navigators were at that time, with the idea of there being a free passage to the East Indies by holding a *western* course, he might with no great impropriety have expressed himself as he did with regard to Cuba, and yet not have meant that Cabot had continued his route as far as Cape Florida. An additional reason for this supposition, might be drawn from the words "penè parem," almost equal; not quite to the same degree of longitude as Cuba, but *almost* to it. But if he had sailed to Cape Florida, he would have been not only almost to the same degree of longitude, but almost past it, or very near to the western extremity of that island. It would be difficult also, in such case, to reconcile the limitation which Martyr had just before given, to what may be called the *southing* of Cabot's voyage, when he expressly confines it to the northward of the latitude of the Herculean sea, which without doubt, means the mouth of the Mediterranean, and which is, as before mentioned, in about 36° north latitude.

It may not be improper also, to make a few observations on one of the authorities cited by Mr. Holmes, (*Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 18, note 2, sub-anno 1497,) in support or illustration of the extent of Cabot's voyage, to wit: the *Mod. Univ. Hist.*

Vol. 40, p. 378. Although that voluminous historical compilation is a most useful work, yet, as Doctor Johnson has somewhere observed, it has been executed in a very *unequal* manner; which seems indeed to be an unavoidable result, from its being the joint labour of several men of unequal talents, learning, or industry. In that part which relates to America, especially in respect to Florida, it does not appear to have been done with that fidelity to historical truth, which ought ever to be the polar star of an historian. About the time when these volumes, which relate to America, were compiled, the British and Spanish nations were at war, and the two Floridas presented to the view of the former, a very convenient *arrondissement* to their colonies on the continent of North America. In the 39th Vol. p. 127, they speak of an expedition, which was at that time fitting out by the British for the conquest of Florida, and in the same Vol. p. 123, 129, 234, they manifestly endeavour to impress their readers with the idea, that Great Britain had just pretences to a prior right to that part of America by reason of the prior discovery of it by Sebastian Cabot; though in the same volume, p. 129, they acknowledge that this prior right of discovery, was the only support of their claim. Accordingly, in the 40th Vol. p. 378, (the place cited by Holmes in his *Annals*,) which appears to have been written just after the acquisition of Florida by Great Britain, by the treaty of peace in 1763, acknowledging in the text, that the question, who were the first discoverers of Florida? was a common topic, much agitated, but little known, and confessing that the whole dispute was then immaterial on account of the late cession of that country under the treaty; they nevertheless subjoin thereto a note, and insert the same again in the text, in Vol. 44, p. 2, and 41: containing proof, as they suggest, from Sebastian's own words in 1496, that Florida was discovered by Sebastian Cabot long before Ponce de Leon's voyage. The passage they cite for that purpose, though they do not say from whence they take it, after describing how far Cabot explored the continent northward, make him to say, "I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land, toward the equinoctial, (ever with an intent to find the said passage to India,) and came to that part of this firm land which is now called *Florida*, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence, and returned to England." But whoever attends to what was before observed, that the Spaniards, in virtue of Ponce de Leon's discoveries, claimed all the southern part of the continent of North America to an indefinite extent northward, at least so as to comprehend the Carolinas, and that the name of Florida, was by them so indefinitely applied to all that part of the coast along those states, will at once perceive, that this passage by no means proves what it was cited for. Cabot might have sailed "to that part of the firm land *then* called Florida," and yet sailed no further south than the 38th or 36° of north latitude. It clearly then appears, that what the authors of the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* have said upon the subject, cannot be admitted as very cogent authority.

NOTE (C) p. 19.

History seems to present mankind to our view only in three distinct states or conditions: the hunter, the pastoral, and the agricultural. In the first of these, which is that in which the aborigines of North America were found by Europeans, the human race necessarily requires a greater superficies of the earth for its support and existence, than in either of the other two. But as it is manifest, that if all nations resolve to live in this state, there would not be sufficient room on the earth for even the present number of its inhabitants, without any future multiplication thereof, it seems necessarily to follow, that it is lawful to compel those who live in this manner, either to occupy as small a space of country as possible for them in this state, or to forsake that mode of life and become cultivators of the earth. From hence it is obvious, that our ancestors, the English, were guilty

of no infringement of natural right, when they attempted to occupy a portion of the continent of North America, whereon a few tribes of savages were scattered in thin population, and whose subsistence principally depended on the prey of the forest. While no wanton cruelties were practised towards them, nor offensive violence was offered to their persons or personal rights, there seems to have been no injustice in compelling them, either to contract their limits, or to cede a portion of their territory to those of their fellow-creatures who would cultivate and improve it. It must be observed, however, that this reasoning does not go in justification of the conduct of the Spaniards in the conquest of either Mexico or Peru, for there civilization had carried the population of the earth to nearly as high a pitch as in the most improved countries of Europe.

The question, then, on the rights of prior *discovery* or prior *occupancy* with respect to America, seems to have been chiefly confined to the contests between Europeans for their respective portions of that extensive continent. The general reasoning, just before used, seems to oppose the idea, that a right resulting to one nation merely from first *discovering* an island or continent, without some actual *occupancy* thereof following such discovery in a reasonable time, should forever thereafter preclude another nation from taking possession of the same. The manifest inconvenience to mankind, which would result from this principle, if allowed, appears to demonstrate its absurdity. The right of prior *discovery* is then, necessarily dependent on subsequent *occupancy*; and as independent nations never have yet agreed to fix any precise limited time, within which the latter shall follow the former, the question, like all others in the law of nations, rests on the *reasonable* construction of mankind. It is upon this construction, and not on the pretended right of prior discovery by Cabot, that the English nation were justifiable in taking possession of that part of the continent afterwards denominated by them South Carolina and Georgia. It had been long abandoned by both the French and Spaniards, was derelict property, and was then unoccupied by either of those nations.

It must be confessed, that considerable difficulty often attends the right of occupancy with respect to the *limits* or extent of the territory, which shall be said to be so gained by occupancy. Where a colony of a few hundreds of individuals sit down upon so extensive a continent as America, or as either the northern or southern half of it, it would be absurd to say, that such an occupancy would entitle them to the whole of such a continent. Some limitation to such a right must always be made; and what this should be, has for the most part occasioned the many contests, which have taken place between European powers in regard to America. The ignorance of the people of Europe, of the great extent of the continent of North America towards the northwest, at the time of their first emigrations thereto, will in some measure apologise for the English monarchs in granting, and for their subjects in requesting patents of colonization, comprehending such enormous territories as some of them did, extending in parallelograms of the surface of the earth from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. And yet on such a grant, was it seriously contended, at the time of the first colonization of Maryland, that it was unjust to lop off from Virginia even so small a portion of that extensive dominion, as now composes the former state. This indeed, was only a contest between the subjects of the same sovereign. More serious bickerings, producing one or two long and bloody wars, afterwards occurred between the maritime powers of Europe, with respect to America; and yet, no sure and permanent rule has yet been ascertained. The claims of the French, while they possessed Canada, in virtue of their right to that province, would have hedged in the British colonies, within that narrow slip of the continent which lies between the Alleghany mountains and the coast; but the right was decided, without recurring to the principle, on the plains of Abraham. The Spaniards, who seem

least of all to set any bounds to their claims both of discovery and occupancy, brought the subject into litigation between them and England, in the year 1771, by pretending, that because the Faulkland or Malouine islands lie within a hundred leagues of the Straits of Magellan, they were to be considered as a part of South America, and therefore their undoubted property, by the rights of both discovery and occupancy. The superiority of the British navy, however, compelled the Spanish court to the mortifying necessity of disavowing the violence, which the Spaniards had been guilty of, in dispossessing the British of those islands, and to give orders, that things should be restored precisely to the same state in which they were before that outrage, contenting themselves with gravely declaring at the same time, that this should not affect the question, of the prior right of sovereignty over those islands. The uncertain extent of the claim of occupancy, was again exhibited, in a subsequent contention between the same nations, in the year 1790, relative to a small settlement made by the British in a part of the northwest coast of America, called *Nootka* sound, lying in about 50° of north latitude. In the year 1788, a party of English, with intent to establish a fur trade on this coast, purchased some land of the Indian chief at this sound, built a house thereon, and erected a fortification for their protection. While they were thus in possession of the country at this place, a squadron of Spanish ships arrived, seized their vessels and stock of furs, and dispossessed them of their settlement. The Spaniards could have had at this time, no actual settlement or occupation of the coast, higher up than a place called *San Francisco*; which, according to a journal of a voyage made by an American captain in that trade, in the year 1804, (published in the American Register for 1808,) was even at that time the most northern *Presideo* or district of the Spaniards on that coast, and which is, as he says, in the latitude of $37^{\circ} 47'$, so that a space of the continent along the coast, of twelve degrees at least, about eight hundred miles, intervened between that *Presideo* and the place where the English attempted a settlement. It ought to be observed, that this same journalist explains a *Presideo* to consist only of a missionary or priest, for the conversion of the Indians, with a guard for him of five Spanish soldiers, under the command of a serjeant or corporal; which could scarcely be called a colony or settlement for the occupation of the country. But the Spanish claim did not stop at *Nootka* sound, but extended as high as the Russian settlement or colony at Prince William's sound or Cook's river, which is in about sixty degrees of north latitude; so that they would claim a coast of fourteen hundred miles in extent, without a single Spaniard settled thereon. It might be presumed that so haughty a nation as the English, would not yield to this. Atonement and compensation were demanded. The result was a *convention* between the two nations, signed by their respective ministers, on the 28th of October, 1790, in which, after the stipulation for a restoration of the settlement, and compensation for the injury to the British subjects, a principle seems to be recognised, whereby each nation was at liberty "to carry on commerce, or make settlements on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean or South Seas, in places not already occupied; subject nevertheless to the restriction, that the British should not navigate or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten leagues from any part of the coast already occupied by Spain." The Spaniards appear to have here surrendered their claim under a right of *prior discovery* of the continent; and it would seem, that although the limits of ten leagues is here applied to the fisheries on the coast, yet it would probably operate also as a limitation to the right of occupancy. But from these circumstances we may infer, that neither of these three nations will be disposed to pay much regard to the claim of our young American states to their share of this coast, as a part of Louisiana. However, a sufficiency of our purchase from the emperor Napoleon, will probably still remain on the western side of the Mississippi, for the formation of many sister states. We have only to wish, that our *union* may live to see it.

NOTE (D) p. 43.

The statutes here alluded to were the 5 *Rich.* 2, c. 2; 13 *Eliz.* c. 3; and 14 *Eliz.* c. 6. By the first of these, (viz. 5 *Rich.* 2,) "all manner of people, as well clerks" (clergymen) "as others, (except only the lords and other great men of the realm, and true and notable merchants, and the king's soldiers,) were prohibited from passing out of the realm without the king's special license, upon pain of forfeiture of all their goods; and the master of any vessel, who carried such persons out of the realm, should forfeit such vessel." By the statute of 13 *Eliz.* "If any native or denizen of the realm should depart the realm without the queen's license, and should not return again within six months either after warning by proclamation, or after the expiration of his license, he shall forfeit to the queen the profits of all his lands during his life, and also all his goods and chattels. Fraudulent assurances made by fugitives of their lands and goods, to deceive the queen, should be void; but the offender should have restitution upon submission." The statute of 14 *Eliz.* only regulated the mode in which the queen should take the profits of the lands of fugitives. The two last of these statutes, (viz. those in the reign of *Eliz.*) being temporary, expired at the queen's death. *Dyer*, 176, b. note (30.) That of 5 *Rich.* 2, was repealed in the next reign after Elizabeth, by the statute of 4 *Jac.* 1, c. 1. Notwithstanding this, a clause of dispensation of "the statute of fugitives," is inserted in the ninth section of the charter of Maryland, granted to lord Baltimore, in 1632. (8 *Car.* 1.) The repeal of the statute of 5 *Rich.* 2, by that of 4 *Jac.* 1, might possibly have been construed to extend only to Scotland, to which the whole of the statute of 4 *Jac.* 1, seems to relate, and appears to have been made solely to remedy inconveniences, which would otherwise have accrued from the recent union of the two kingdoms. All of these three first mentioned statutes, however, were in force at the time when Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained his patent, and a special dispensation was therefore essentially necessary, (inasmuch as dispensations were then held to be legal,) for such persons as should go out of the realm, even with the laudable intention of settling a colony. In those times there seems to have been some doubt also, whether the common law, without any statute for that purpose, did not prohibit any subject from going out of the realm, without special license previously obtained. *Dyer*, 165, b. 3 *Inst.* 178. *Lane* 43.—The common law on this subject, as well as the before mentioned statutes, evidently originated from the intolerable interference practised by the popes of Rome, during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. in the political transactions not only of England, but of every nation in Europe. Subjects were invited to Rome to concert schemes, ostensibly for the good of the church, but in reality to carry on operations against their own government, and though committing the most atrocious acts of treason, were assured of the powerful protection of the Roman pontiff. But the common law seems to be now settled, that every man may go out of the realm, for whatever cause he pleaseth, without any license for that purpose; though it seems to be settled also, that the king by his prerogative, and without any help of an act of parliament, may prohibit his subjects from so doing; but this must be done by some express prohibition, as by laying on an embargo, or by writ of *Ne exeat regno*, which writ is never granted *universally*, but only to restrain a *particular* person, upon oath made, that he intends to go out of the realm. This writ appertains more particularly to a court of chancery, and is adopted as a common process of that court, to prevent debtors from absconding out of the jurisdiction of that court, with the intent to evade the payment of debts, or to eloin property. 4 *Bac. Abr.* 168-9. 1 *Bl. Com.* 265. 3 *Brown's Ch. Rep.* 218. This we may suppose to be still the law in Maryland, since the writ of *Ne exeat provinciam*, in similar cases, seems to have been adopted as unquestionable practice in the Maryland court of chancery, prior to the revolution. See the case of

Somerville vs. Johnson, (Feb. 1770,) 1 Harris & M'Henry's Rep. 348, where it issued to prevent a person from removing and carrying with him, negroes from Maryland to Virginia, to which negroes the complainant had an equitable claim.

It is said also, that by the common law of England, the king may restrain his subjects from going abroad by *proclamation*. 4 Bac. Abr. 168. 4 El. Com. 122. This may be understood, as lawful in such cases as are spoken of by the writers on the Law of Nature and Nations, (particularly by Grotius and Burlamaqui,) where subjects leave the territories of the state in large companies.

The general right of expatriation, would involve a discussion of too much length, to be here introduced. It may, however, perhaps be excusable to suggest a doubt, whether the time is not now arrived, when true policy dictates, that the importation of foreigners into the United States, and their easy access to citizenship among us, should no longer be encouraged. It is very questionable indeed, whether the nature of our republican institutions would admit of a population of our extensive territories equal to that of an European state. That foreigners should be permitted to reside among us under the protection of our laws, without the political right of office or right of election; but that their children born here, should acquire citizenship by their birth, in its fullest extent, seems to present to them no unreasonable hardship, and it is believed, would not operate much against the importation of them. The admission of foreign seamen also, to the protection of citizenship, must, in the nature of things, forever embroil us in quarrels with the most powerful maritime nation in Europe. Our situation in this respect, presents a new case in the Law of Nature and Nations. For one whole race of people, speaking the same language,—using the same habits and customs,—living under the same laws,—and connected by the ties of blood and family, to be suddenly disjoined, and placed under two distinct governments, is a political incident, the exact parallel of which is not to be found in the records of history. It is a case, which the writers upon National Law, have never contemplated, and their general reasoning, therefore, vague and inconclusive as it is, on the right of expatriation, can, in relation to Britain, have no application to us.

NOTE (E) p. 48.

Letter from Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Sir George Peckham, taken from Hazard's Collections, vol. 1, p. 32.

Sir George, I departed from *Plymouth* on the eleventh of June with five saile, and on the thirteenth the Barke *Rawley* ran from me in faire and cleere weather, having a large winde. I pray you solicit my brother *Rawley* to make them an Example of all Knaves. On the third of August wee arrived at a port called Saint *John's*, and will put to the Seas from thence (God willing) so soon as our ships will be ready. Of the Newfoundland I will say nothing, until my next Letter. Be of good cheere, for if there were no better Expectation, it were a very rich demaynes, the country being very good, and full of sorts of victuall, as fish, both of the fresh water and Sea-fish, Deere, Pheasants, Partridges, Swannes, and divers Fowles. I am in haste, you shall by every Messenger heare more at large. On the fifth of August, I entered here in the right of the crown of England, and have engraven the armes of *England*; divers *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, and other Strangers, witnessing the same. I can stay no longer; fare you well with my good Lady; and be of good cheere, for I have comforted my selfe, answerable to all my hopes.

From Saint John's, in the Newfoundland, the 8th of August, 1583.

Your's wholly to command,

No Man more,

HUM. GILBERT.

NOTE (F) p. 53.

As a supplement to the complimentary contest between the queen and Sir Walter, noticed in the text, may be read a letter which he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, (with a view, without doubt, of having it shown to the queen,) during his short imprisonment, for having incurred her displeasure on an interesting occasion many years after his first introduction at court: "My heart was never broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years, with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. All these times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valete.*" It is to be remarked, (adds Hume, Hist. of Eng. ch. 44, note (S), that this nymph, Venus, goddess, angel, was then about sixty.

The imprisonment, alluded to in the above letter, seems to be explained by an anecdote, mentioned by Sir Walter's biographer, in his life prefixed to his History of the World, (3d edition, 1687,) as occurring about the year 1595: "Sir Walter having now deserted his naval employ, and become again a courtier, it was not long before he was seized with the idle court disease of love, the unfortunate occasion of the worst action of his whole life. For in the year 1595, I find him under a cloud, banished the court, and his mistress's favour withdrawn, *for de-virginating a maid of honour.* But why for this one action he should lie under the imputation of an atheist, and from a single crime get the denomination of a debauch, is the logic of none but the vulgar. But, to stop the mouth of fame, which is always open on such occasions, and to wipe out the infamy of the fact, he was shortly after married to the object of his love, the deflowered lady. Having, therefore, obtained his liberty, (*for, for this action he was imprisoned some months,*) and finding all things with an unpleasant aspect, he followed his genius of discovering new places and tracing nature in her more retired and hidden parts, thinking that absence, and a fortunate voyage, might reinvest him in his mistress's thoughts, and merit a new esteem." He set out, in the same year, it seems, on a voyage to Guiana, (*for, by this time, he had assigned away all his right to the territories of Virginia,*) and on his return, as he had conjectured, appears to have been somewhat reinstated in the queen's favour, being again employed in her service.

NOTE (G) p. 55.

The disagreement and confusion among all the writers on this voyage, as to the topography of the places referred to, render it almost impossible to ascertain with precision, where this island called Wokoken, was situated, or what river, or rather inlet, it was, which they first entered. These difficulties seem to be, in some measure, accounted for in the remarks of *Williamson*, in his Hist. of North Carolina, (a modern work, vol. 1, p. 40.)—"The discoveries of that officer, (says he, referring to governor Lane,) "cannot be understood by their original names; for every thing is changed, except the name of a small island. (Meaning, most probably, Roanoke island.) Rivers and sounds have lost their Indian names; inlets have changed their position; and the Indian tribes are exterminated. Haterash was the name of a small inlet, a little to the westward of Cape Hatteras."—(By which we may suppose him to mean,—to the south-westward of that cape. This inlet, called Haterash inlet, is laid down, nearly as

Williamson states it, on the map inserted in *Keith's Hist. of Virginia*, dated in 1738.) "The second inlet, to the westward (south westward) of the cape, was called Occam; and there was a third inlet, a few miles to the eastward (north eastward) of the present Ocracock, that was called *Wokoken*." From this it might be inferred, that the islands called by the natives, Wokoken, was adjacent to the inlet so called. This corresponds with Mr. Stith's supposition, (as stated by Mr. Burk in his *Hist. of Virginia*, vol. 1, p. 46,)—"that the island Wococou must lie between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, and that the distance from thence to Roanoke island might be thirty leagues." Could we place perfect confidence in what is stated by Mr. Williamson, with respect to the "third inlet called Wokoken;" it would be almost decisive as to the location of the island so called, for the inference, that the island was adjacent to the inlet, is too strong to be resisted. It would appear also from Mr. Williamson's statement, that the section of the bank which lay between Wokoken inlet and the present Ocracock inlet, was the island called Wokoken, and was (as he says) "about twenty miles long." The section of the bank, which lay between Wokoken and Occam inlets, he adds, "was called Croatoan." Burk, in his *History*, (*ibid.*) states, on the authority of Mr. Heriot, (one of the voyagers,) that this island, called Wokoken, was fifteen miles in length and six in breadth." But it may be suspected, that Burk here misunderstood what Heriot meant of Roanoke island, and applied to Wokoken; for, according to the best American geographers, (Morse and others,) the great sand-beach, which separates Pamptico sound from the ocean, "is scarcely a mile wide;" and Wokoken island must have formed a part of this beach. Although this sand-beach, from Mr. Williamson's account before stated, appears to be frequently changing its forms and dimensions from the breaches of the sea, yet it is not probable, that, even since the visit of Amidas and Barlow, it has diminished five miles in breadth. It is true, that the distance from the present Ocracock inlet to Roanoke island, (according to measurement upon some modern maps of North Carolina,) is full sixty miles, and Wocoken inlet being, as before stated, but a "few miles" to the eastward of Ocracock inlet, the distance from either inlet would be nearly the same, or "thirty leagues" as supposed by Stith; and it seems to be stated also, in Barlow's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, preserved by Hakluyt, (according to Burk's *Hist. of Virginia*,) that the distance "from the harbour by which they entered," was "seven leagues;" a little more than one-third of the distance just mentioned. But it ought to be remembered, that most commonly the computation of leagues or miles by transient voyagers must, in the nature of things, be but loose estimation, and therefore liable to great uncertainty. The reckoning of their longitude by the log is so inaccurate as scarcely to deserve notice, and nothing can keep them right in their latitude but a daily observation. It is highly probable, that in this instance, after entering into Pamptico sound, through one of the before mentioned inlets, they advanced up it a considerable way to the northward before the boat was dispatched to Roanoke island, and they might therefore be induced to compute the distance from one of the inlets to the island much shorter than it really was. This supposition is strongly supported by the manner in which *Keith*, in his *Hist. of Virginia*, (p. 39,) has stated this fact.—"Eight of the company, in a boat, went up the river Occam, (one of the inlets into Pamptico sound as before mentioned, but generally supposed to mean the sound itself,) twenty miles; and next day in the evening they came to an island called Roanoke, which was about seven leagues from the place where their ships lay." It is possible then, that their ships might have advanced up Pamptico sound, and came to anchor in about "seven leagues" or twenty miles distant from Roanoke island. It seems also, that Barlow's letter, before mentioned, was translated from the original English into Latin, and might be either erroneously translated

or misconstrued. Upon the whole, therefore, it may be fairly concluded, that the island, called Wokoken, where Amidas and Barlow first landed, was a part of the great sand-beach, now called Core-bank, lying to the south-westward of Cape Hatteras, and the river, where they anchored, was one of the three inlets—Occam, Wokoken, or Ocracock, which let into Pamptico sound from the sea south-west of Cape Hatteras.

NOTE (H) p. 92.

It is not unworthy of notice, that king James had, in a few years after this period, (between the years 1608 and 1612) another opportunity of exercising his talents for the arts of peace, in planting English colonies in the province of Ulster in Ireland, upon those extensive demesnes forfeited by the rebellion and flight of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel. Similar attempts had been made in the reign of his predecessor Elizabeth, on the forfeiture of the estate of the earl of Desmond in Munster; but, as Leland observes, "In those plantations the Irish and English had been mixed together, from a fond imagination, that the one would have learned civility and industry from the other. But experience had now discovered, that by this intercourse, the Irish learned only to envy the superior comforts of their English neighbours, and to take the advantage of a free access to their houses, to steal their goods and plot against their lives. It was, therefore, now deemed necessary to plant them in separate quarters." From this passage of the Irish historian, (who was partial enough to his own countrymen,) as well as from his whole work, it would seem, that the aboriginal Irish were, at this period of time, very little, if any, more civilized than the Indians of America, at the time of the first settlement of Virginia. The English colonists had, therefore, nearly the same difficulties to encounter in the one country as in the other. This historian, on this occasion, gives honourable testimony in favour of the plans and designs of James, and further observes, that "Ireland must gratefully acknowledge, that here were the first foundations laid of its affluence and security." See Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. 2, p. 430, 431; and Hume's *Hist. of England*, at the end of ch. 46, in the reign of James I.

NOTE (I) p. 190.

The principal use of the notice we have taken of this abortive attempt to settle a colony in Newfoundland, is to show a probable chain of connection between this and a subsequent attempt made by the lord Baltimore, afterwards the proprietary of that province of Maryland, to make a settlement on that island, in a province there, which was granted to him under the name of Avalon. Notwithstanding the partiality which king James evidently had for the English Catholics, yet a very great majority of the nation being Protestants of one description or another, he was obliged to give way to the inclinations of that majority. Hence the penal laws against Papists, though against his wishes, were rigidly enforced throughout the kingdom. A few great men, however, by temporising and professing themselves of the Church of England, though really Catholics, were received at court by James with great cordiality. Among these was Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, one of the patentees of the grant here referred to. An additional cause also operated on the mind of James, which was the attachment which had been manifested by the Howard family to his mother, Mary, queen of Scots. This Henry Howard was the younger brother of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in the reign of Elizabeth, for holding a treasonable correspondence with the queen of Scots. "Alas!" said Mary, when she was told of his death, "what have the noble house of the Howards suffered on my account!" James entered into all these feelings. He had scarcely arrived in London, on his first accession to the throne, before he resto-

red to the family their lost honours, and created Henry earl of Northampton, who in compliance to James, professed himself a Protestant. The main branch of the family, however, that is, Thomas Howard's son, and grandson, and their descendants, continued Catholics until about the middle of George the third's reign. Henry made use of his favour with James, on all occasions, to befriend the Papists. Being warden of the Cinque Ports, he connived at the entrance of the jesuits and Romish priests into the kingdom, though he thought it proper to institute his suit of *scandalum magnatum*, in the star chamber, against some persons who happened to talk of this. Rapin says, that the truth of the report was proved by a letter under the earl's own hand to cardinal Bellarmine, which the archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbott, who was so opposed to popery that he was called a puritan,) produced on the trial, and that upon this letter the parties accused were discharged, but in the report of the case by *Moore*, (see *Moore's Rep.* 821,) it is said, they were grievously fined. In a little more than a year afterwards the earl died, on the 15th of June, 1614: and, what corroborated the truth of the charges against him, he declared in his last will and testament, that he had always been a Catholic, and would die in that religion. Hypocrisy being most commonly the mother of every vice, it is almost unnecessary to add, that historians have drawn his character in the most odious colours. It is very certain, that he was deeply concerned with his niece in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, in order to facilitate her marriage with Carr, the king's favourite.

Viewing this man's character, and the situation of the Papists at this period of time, we are unavoidably led to connect his intentions in sending out this colony to Newfoundland, with those of Sir George Calvert, in about eleven years afterwards, whose motives were honestly and openly professed to be, that of forming an asylum for the Catholics. What inducements operated with lord Bacon, Mr. Justice Doddridge, lord chief baron Tanfield, and others of the patentees less known, we are not informed; and are therefore to attribute to them the laudable motive of pursuing the public good, though perhaps blended with the prospect of private emolument. See *Rapin's Hist. of England*, Vol. 8, p. 8, 99, 101, 104, 131. *Hume's Hist.* Vol. 4, p. 247.

NOTE (K) p. 197.

Although the observations of Doctor Russell on indulgences, (in his *History of Modern Europe*, letter 55,) are here acceded to, yet it is not thereby meant to approve of his *hypercriticism* on what Mr. Hume has said on the same subject, in Note (A) to chap. 29, of his *Hist. of England*. Mr. Hume was endeavouring to show, that "the sale of indulgences was no more criminal than another *cheat* of the church of Rome, or of any other church;" which led him to remark, that "after all these indulgences were promulgated, there still remained (besides hell fire,) the punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the world," (which last sanction, a very powerful one, is, by the by, omitted by Doctor Russell in his quotation,) "and secret remorses of conscience *which are the great motives that operate on mankind*." On which the Doctor has thought it proper to bestow the following extraordinary language: "Now the first of these assertions" (by which the Doctor can mean nothing else than the existence of hell fire,) "is literally *false*; for the very words of an indulgence bore, that it restored the person to whom it was granted to that innocence and purity which he possessed at baptism; and according to the doctrine of the Romish church, the infant is then fit for heaven. But the indulgence did not stop here; it concluded thus: "so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened." Notwithstanding Mr. Hume might have been here guilty of a small oversight, in not attending to the operation of an *indulgence*, in exempting the sinner from *hell-fire*—a circumstance, on which he

appears to lay very little stress, and that too probably, only in compliment to the believers in christianity, relying upon the other "great motives" to morality which he mentions, yet he evidently means here only to check the exuberant declamation of "protestant writers," upon the effects of indulgences. Pronouncing the sale of indulgences to be a "cheat," like other pious frauds committed by other churches as well as the Romish, he cannot fairly be said to be arguing in their favour. It must be acknowledged by those who suffer themselves to reason on such subjects, that the unbounded confidence, which is taught by modern fanatics to be placed in the efficiency of *faith*, in preference to *good works*, in obtaining salvation, has much the same pernicious effect on the *moral* conduct of human society, as the actual grant of indulgences by the supreme pontiff of Rome.

NOTE (L) p. 199.

There is not, perhaps, any sect of the original reformers, which has admitted of a greater number of subdivisions, than that of the Anabaptists. The doctrine of the baptism of adults, being somewhat more consistent with reason, than that of infants, it seems to have been greedily adopted by many of the first reformers. With this principle as a foundation, they frequently connected the most ridiculous and absurd tenets; still retaining, however, the name of Anabaptists. Several of them attempted, in the year 1535, at Amsterdam, to revive the doctrine of the Adamites, a christian sect of the second century, whose principal tenet was to strip themselves naked during their religious ceremonies. These Anabaptists exceeded the Adamites, for they paraded the streets stark naked, both men and women. Another schism happened among the Anabaptists, about the same time, at Haerlem, in Holland. It owed its original, to the liberty which a young man there took, of putting his hand into the bosom of a young woman whom he loved, and had a mind to marry. This touch of her breast, came to the knowledge of their church; and thereupon they consulted what punishment the delinquent ought to suffer. Some maintained he ought to be excommunicated; others said, that his fault deserved favour, and would never consent to his excommunication. The dispute grew to such a height, that it caused a total rupture between the two parties. Those who declared for indulgence to the young man, were called *Mamillarians*, from *Mamillæ*, breasts. (See *Bayle's Hist. Dict. Artic. Adamites, Mamillarians, and Picards.*) A more inoffensive party of them, however, was formed about the same time, in Holland, by one of their principal chiefs, whose name was *Mennon*, from whom they took the name of *Mennonites*, and subsist to this day as a distinct sect, both in Europe and America. "Contrary to the mutinous and sanguinary principles of the original Anabaptists, they became altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themselves entirely to the duties of private citizens; and by their industry and charity, endeavour to make reparation to human society, for the violence committed by their founders. A small number of this sect, which is settled in England, retains its peculiar tenets concerning baptism, but without any dangerous mixture of enthusiasm." (*Robertson's Hist. of Cha. V. book 5th.*) They hold the principle also, of refusing oaths; (*Proud's Hist. of Pennsylv. Vol. 2, p. 342;*) which is probably what is meant by Robertson, in their refusing to accept of civil offices. A very early instance, in regard to them, occurs: about the time of the first revolt of the Dutch provinces from Spain, when only the two provinces of Zealand and Holland had become independent, the magistrates of the city of Middleburg, in Zealand, had prohibited the *Menists*, as they were then called, from carrying on trade, and had caused their shops to be shut up, because they refused to take the usual oaths to the state. The prince of Orange, who still retained his power, as governor of Zealand and Holland,

after an admonitory letter to the magistrates, dated January 26th, 1577, issued express orders to them, not to molest the Menists on account of their refusing the oaths. See these letters and orders in a book published by the Quakers, when they applied to Charles II. of England, for the like liberty, in the year 1675, entitled "The Case of the people called Quakers, relating to oaths." The Menonists emigrated to Pennsylvania, where their principal settlement in America is, as early as the year 1698, some in 1706, 1709, and 1711, but most of them in 1717; when, in a very extraordinary manner as it appears, the Quakers of that province, notwithstanding the similarity of their tenants, expressed great uneasiness at their coming there. See *Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania*, vol. 2, p. 100. Acts of assembly in Maryland, provide for the indulgence of them in refusing oaths, putting their *affirmation* upon the same footing as that of the Quakers; but it is doubtful whether any of them settled in that state. Lancaster, the place of their principal residence, being in the neighbourhood of Maryland, it is possible that their frequent intercourse in that state, might have occasioned a legislative provision in their favour.

The Anabaptists, properly so called, are numerous in almost every state in the union. They are said to be "chiefly upon the Calvinistic plan as to *doctrines*, and *independents* in regard to church government. *Morse's Geography*, artic. Pennsylvania. If we could place any confidence in an allegation made in a law of Massachusetts against them, in the year 1644, which must have been shortly after their first emigration to America, to wit: that "they denied the lawfulness of magistrates," it would seem, that they had not then relinquished all their dangerous tenets. But this allegation might have been made merely to cover the persecution against them. See the law in *Hazard's Collection*, vol. 1, p. 538.

NOTE (M) p. 202.

The reader, it is hoped, will not be displeased with the insertion here of a description of the execution of Servetus, extracted from a MS. history of him, cited in a note on the same subject in *Roscoe's Pontificate of Leo X.* ch. 19. "Impositus est Servetus trunco ad terram posito, pedibus ad terram pertingentibus, capiti imposita est corona, straminea vel frondea, et ea sulphure conspersa, corpus palo alligatum ferrea catena, collum autem tunc fune crasso quadruplici aut quintuplici laxo; liber femori alligatus; ipse carnificem rogavit, ne se diu torqueret. Interea carnifex ignem in ejus conspectum, et deinde in orbem admovit. Homo, viso igne, ita horrendum exclamavit ut universum populum perterre fecerit. Cum diu langueret, fuerunt ex populo, qui fasciculos confertim conjecerunt. Ipse horrenda voce clamans, *Jesu, Fili Dei Eterni, miserere mei*. Post dimidiæ circiter horæ cruciatum expiravit." On this Roscoe remarks, that Calvin, who was apprehensive that the death of Servetus might entitle him to the rank of a martyr, thought it necessary to defame his memory, by asserting that he had no religion; and inhumanly attributed the natural expression of his feelings, on the approach of his horrible fate, to what he calls a *brutal stupidity*. "Ceterum ne male feriat inebulones, vecordi hominis pervicacia quasi martyris glorientur, in ejus morte apparuit belluina stupiditas, unde judicium facere liceret, nihil unquam serio in religionem ipsum egisse. Ex quo mors ei denunciata est, nunc attonito similis hæere, nunc alta suspiria edere, nunc instar lymphatici ejulare, Quod postremum tandem sic invaluit, ut tantum, hispanico more, reboaret, *Misericordia, Misericordia*." *Calvini Opus*. p. 101.—Was not this making a cruel scoff at the sufferings of this unfortunate man? And are we not as much surprised at the opinion expressed on Servetus's execution by a celebrated cotemporary reformer—Melancthon? "Miratus sum esse qui severitatem illam improbet."—But we find the principle of these intolerant sentiments recorded in Calvin's "Christian Institution"—"Si penes singulos jus et arbitrium

erit judicandi nihil unquam certi constitui poterit, quin potius pota vicillabit religio." *Calv. Inst. lib. 4, p. 10. sec. 31.*—But we are told, that the followers of these reformers have left off these things, particularly in America; and that the excellent constitution of the United States gives unbounded freedom in matters of religion.—Vain deception!—The constitution of the United States, it is true, provides, in one of its amendments, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."—It is possible, that instances may occur, where this amendment to the constitution may be of some use; as appears from two recent cases in the late session (in 1810—11,) where the president thought it proper to interpose his *disapprobation* of two bills deemed by him unconstitutional under this clause. But as congress seldom have occasion to legislate on subjects of religion, the oppression of individuals in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights, is most generally to be apprehended from the state governments. In most of the states the penalties of the *common law*, in matters of religion, still subsist. The bloody *statutes* also, of some of them, only *sleep*. Not being repealed they are liable to be called up into action at any moment when either superstition or fanaticism shall perceive a convenient time for it. What Jew, Socinian, or Deist, possessing a sound mind, would venture, in the state of Maryland for instance, to open his lips even in defence of his own religion?—Alas! (as *Roscoe* observes on this subject,) "The human mind, a slave in all ages, has rather changed its master, than freed itself from its servitude."

NOTE (N) p. 208.

In Tindal's edition of Rapin's Hist. of Engl. (vol. 7. p. 528,) it is suggested, that "the severities, which from this time" (to wit, that of making the statute of 35 *Eliz.* ch. 1.) "began to be exercised in England upon the nonconformists, were probably occasioned by the disturbances caused by Hacket and some other enthusiasts." This William Hacket, (according to the account of him given by *Bayle*, in his *Hist. Dict.* art. *Hacket*, which account seems to have been extracted principally from *Camden's Annals*,) was originally a servant to one Mr. Hussey in Northamptonshire. It was a practice with him to attend the sermons of the Puritan ministers, for the purpose of repeating them again to his acquaintance, and though illiterate, yet having a most retentive memory, he would over his cups with his companions, amuse them with a mock recital of their sermons. Being much addicted to drunkenness and debauchery, to support his expenses in that way he turned a highwayman. At last he set up for a prophet, and prophesied famine, pestilence, and war to England, unless it established the consistorial (or Calvinistic) discipline. He began to prophesy at York and Lincon, for which, it seems, he was publicly whipped; probably on a prosecution against him at common law, as an impostor in religion; (for which see 1 *Hawk.* ch. 5, sect. 3.) Having a wonderful fluency in extemporary prayer, he made the people believe, that it proceeded from an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost. He pretended to have a very great confidence in these prayers, for he said, that if all England should pray for rain, and he should pray to the contrary, it would not rain. He had the address to persuade two persons of some learning, Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, to join him. Coppinger assumed the title of the *prophet of mercy*, and Arthington that of the *prophet of judgment*. They gave out, that they had an extraordinary mission, and that next to Jesus Christ none upon earth had greater power than William Hacket. They declared that he was the sole monarch of Europe. They would have proceeded to the ceremony of unction, but he would not suffer them, being already anointed, he said, by the Holy Ghost, in heaven. They asked him at last, what he had to command them, and protested that they would pay an obedience without reserve. He ordered them to go

and proclaim through all the streets of London, that Jesus Christ was come to judge the world. They immediately obeyed him. They drew together, by their bawling, such a concourse of people, that being come to Cheapside, they could go no further, nor be heard; but finding an empty cart, they mounted upon it and discoursed of the important mission of William Hacket. They said, that he partook of the nature of glorified bodies, and was to convert all Europe to the consistorial discipline; and that the power of judgment was committed to him. They prophesied, that all who refused to obey this king of all Europe, should kill one another, and that *the queen should be dethroned*.—Having thus, as faithful missionaries, propagated the doctrines of their lord and master, they returned to the inn where he lodged. As soon as Arthington approached his presence, he turned round to the people, who had followed them, and cried out, “Behold the king of the earth!” They were afterwards arrested, prosecuted, and tried for high treason; (it being plainly within the statute of 13 *Eliz.* ch. 1, at that time in force; see 1 *Hale’s Hist. Pl. Cr.* 319.) When they were on their trial, they refused to take their hats off before the judges, saying, *they were above the magistrates*. Hacket also, at the same time, expressed to the judges the most virulent invectives against the queen, and added that his design was to rob her of her crown and life, and *change the whole form of the government*. Hacket was executed in pursuance of his sentence, which was, to be hanged and quartered. Coppington starved himself to death in prison; and Arthington was pardoned. These disturbances in the streets of London occurred, (according to *Bayle*, as before cited,) on the sixteenth of July, 1592, which was about six months prior to the making the statute of 35 *Eliz.* ch. 1.—It must be acknowledged, that these scenes too strongly indicated a renovation in England of the then recent excesses of the Anabaptists at Munster. When religion will thus forcibly mingle itself with the political proceedings of the government, reason pronounces the necessity of applying some curb to it. The happiness of the people, the supreme law, in such case demands it.

NOTE (O) p. 215.

Mr. Holmes, in his *Annals*, (in Note 5, at the end of his first volume,) has expressed considerable dissatisfaction with an *American historian*, for endeavouring to represent, that the Puritans removed from Leyden to America, because they were “obscure and unpersecuted.” He seems to allude to an expression of Mr. Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, Vol. 1, p. 90, who says, that “their obscure situation at Leyden became irksome to them,” and “without persecution they made no converts.” But it is to be observed, that Marshall has on this occasion, only copied the expressions and observations used by Dr. Robertson in his *History of New England*, who could not be suspected of being an “advocate for the English hierarchy.” Besides, as it is in vain to deny, that the eclat attending the foundation of any religious sect, which shall happen to make a noise in the world, has considerable operation in the minds of the founders, whether they are sincere in their belief or not, there cannot be much impropriety in saying, that the dread of having their schemes to prove abortive, and their names to sink into *obscurity*, would not a little mingle with other considerations, however laudable or virtuous. It is equally in vain also, to deny, that *persecution* has, in many instances, *contributed* much to promote the growth of religious sects. Robertson’s sect being entirely destitute in Holland, of the nourishing dew of persecution, it was not too vague an inference, that through want of this, they made fewer converts than they would otherwise have done. Without some of these means, by which a regular accession to their numbers could be made, it was evident, that old age, natural deaths, and the vexatious defection of their youth, so pathetically complained of, would in time work their annihilation.

Mr. Holmes is displeased also, that "the Puritans of Leyden and of New England are, *to this day*, represented as *Brownists*." But it seems to be certain, however, from all the best historians of those times, that the first person among the Puritans, who set up a separate congregation distinct from the Presbyterian, was Robert Brown. Whether he then introduced the exact church discipline, afterwards established by Robinson, is immaterial. Brown being the first person who appeared in England at this time, among the Puritans, at the head of a visible congregation, of a sect entirely new, would naturally induce persons of other sects to give them a name; which they did, by calling them after their first apparent founder. It ought to be noticed, that it is not always in the power of any sect or religious society of people, to appropriate to themselves a fixed determinate denomination. Other men will fix it for them. Nor is it in their power to alter it, any more than the language generally spoken. This is verified by that of the Quakers, who to this day disclaim that name, it being a term of ridicule; but call themselves "Friends," a term which few people adopt when they speak of them. A book written by Robinson, entitled "A just and necessary apologie of certain christians no less contumeliously than *commonly called Brownists* or *Barrovists*," is cited by Mr. Holmes, to show what were Robinson's principles; in which Robinson professes that their religion was the same as the Dutch Reformed Church, excepting something relative to the Apocrypha. That might be, and yet not be variant in doctrine from the church founded by Brown. But this citation of the title of Robinson's book is so far unfortunate, as to prove directly, that in the time of Robinson, according to his own acknowledgment, the members of his church were "*commonly called Brownists*;" and moreover, that the *Brownists* and these anonymous "*certain christians*," were, according to the confession of the chief or leader of the latter, one and the same sect; which reduces it to the question, whether it was in their own power, or in that of other men, to alter or continue their former denomination. Analogous to this, is the title of a very learned and well written book, by that great apostle of the Quakers, Robert Barclay: "*An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached by the people, called in scorn, Quakers*;" in which he, in the same manner as Robinson, professes to set forth the principles of the Quakers, and expressly mentions, that "it was a name not of their choosing, but reproachfully cast upon them." But it would be ridiculous for any Quaker, who professed to belong to what they call The Society of Friends, to say, that he was no Quaker. In corroboration of what is here said, it may be proper to subjoin a short extract from No. I, of the Appendix to the second vol. of Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts: I shall briefly touch upon their ecclesiastical affairs. I suppose this people were the first who took or received the name of Independents, which in a few years after was the name given to a body of men in England, who assumed the government there. *When they first went to Holland, they were known by the name of Brownists*. Some of the characteristics of Brownism, they afterwards disclaimed, and at the same time disclaimed the name, which was generally odious; the character of the founder of the sect, being at best, problematical. Besides, he renounced his principles, and returned to episcopacy. The Puritans they could not conform to, and therefore considered themselves as a distinct church or by themselves, independent of all other." Who are meant here, "by the Puritans to whom they could not conform," unless they are the English Presbyterians, it is difficult to conceive. However, it shows, that *when they first went to Holland, they were known by the name of Brownists*; but that Brown, by his apostacy, having brought the name into discredit, they began to be ashamed of it. To this may be added, that Sir William Temple, in his excellent "*Observations on the United Provinces*," which he wrote about the year 1670, mentions the *Brownists* among other sects, "*whose names were then*

almost worn out in all other parts," as a sect then and there existing by *that name*; which sect must certainly have been, the remains of either Robinson's or Smith's congregation at Amsterdam or Leyden.

Mr. Holmes also represents Robinson as "a man of learning, of piety, and of Catholicism;" and in Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. 2, Appendix, "he is said to have been a man of *good learning*, and of a *benevolent disposition*:" where is mentioned, (we may suppose by way of confirmation of his character for learning,) that he was persuaded by Polyander, one of the divinity professors in the university of Leyden, to dispute publicly with Episcopius, another divinity professor in the same university, on the religious tenets of the Armenians, a new sect then lately risen in Holland. When we read and reflect upon the troubles and distresses, which befel the persons who professed the Armenian tenets in Holland about this time, persecuted throughout all the provinces more inveterately than the Puritans were in England, whatever "honour and respect" Mr. Robinson might have acquired from his disputation with Episcopius, it certainly was no evidence of his "benevolent disposition." The Gormarists, who were Calvinists, like the established Church in England, would tolerate no dissenters from their principles. The Armenians differed from them only with regard to the unintelligible mysteries of predestination, election, justification, and grace. If Robinson had one spark of a "benevolent disposition," he would not have joined the cry of persecution, in hunting down a sect for such differences of opinion, especially when these Armenians could boast, of having then at their head, such men as the patriotic Barneveldt and the learned Grotius.

NOTE (P) p. 223.

I am well aware, that the Gallican Church, in the latter end of the seventeenth century, made under the auspices of Louis XIV. a noble stand against the encroachments of the papal power. Had the *four articles*, contained in the declaration made by the general assembly of the French clergy, on the 19th of March, 1682, been acknowledged by the pope, and adopted throughout other Catholic countries in Europe, the Roman Catholic church would have been as harmless in its political tenets as any other sect of christians. The first of those articles was, "That kings and princes are not subject to the ecclesiastical power as to their temporals: and that they cannot be deposed, directly or indirectly, by the authority of the keys of the church, nor their subjects absolved from the allegiance and obedience, which they owe them." See *Dupin's Hist. of the Church*, Cent. XVII. ch. 19. But it is well known, that pope Innocent XI. as soon as he was informed of these proceedings of the French bishops, immediately called a consistory at Rome, in which these four articles or propositions, were formally condemned and ordered to be burnt. See the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. 26, p. 479. The Republic of Venice had, indeed, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, made a feeble effort to oppose the power of the pope to interfere in the political affairs of the state, but in the end, were obliged to yield to it. The power of the pope, therefore, in deposing kings, and absolving subjects from their allegiance, was generally acknowledged throughout the greater number of the Catholic states of Europe, until the emperor Napoleon, on the 17th of February, 1810, deprived the Roman pontiff of all temporal power, and obliged him to swear to the observance of the above mentioned four propositions contained in the declaration of the French clergy, in 1682, as before mentioned.

NOTE (Q) p. 227.

The author, in vindication of those observations he makes on the conduct of the Catholics, begs leave to add a quotation from a work, which he has once or twice before cited, and which has been always held in high estimation by the lit-

erati of all Europe. *Bayle*, in his Historical and Critical Dictionary, art. *Elizabeth*, makes the following remarks on *Moreri's* Dictionary, in relation to the same article: "He should not have several times exaggerated the persecutions of the Roman Catholics, without mentioning the acts of rebellion which exposed them to that storm. A faithful historian ought first to have observed their plots against the queen's government, and then the severe punishment she inflicted for those plots. The transposition of these two things, would be great unfaithfulness in a historian. What name then shall be given to *Moreri's* conduct, who suppresses entirely those plots?" In another remark on the same article, he observes, "Elizabeth was forced, by reasons of state, to use severity towards Papists. Some lost their lives; a great number of others, either suffered the rigours of imprisonment or inconveniences of exile. The Protestants of England confess this; they do not deny the fact; but they maintain, that the wicked attempts of the Papists against the government, and against the queen, deserved such a punishment. You will be sure not to find this observation in the libels of the English Roman Catholic. You will indeed find the punishments, with all the rhetorical flourishes that can amplify them, but not a word of the seditious enterprises which preceded, and were the cause of them. There are few relations, in which the order of events is not confounded. This confusion is not always produced by fraud; a too turbulent zeal, is sometimes the cause of it. An ill conducted zeal, fixes the mind upon the hardships of persecuted virtue, and causes the provocation of the persecutors to be forgotten. If these two causes are not sufficient, dishonesty, which alone would disorder the events, completes the confusion. However it be, I have observed, that the principal difference between the accounts of Catholics and Protestants, consists in the order of the facts: each party endeavours to give the first place to the injuries they have endured; they make a long detail of these, and pass over slightly what they have done, by way of reprisals, or what they have suffered as a just punishment." These remarks of Mr. *Bayle*, may be presumed to have been made with the utmost impartiality. He was by birth a Frenchman, a son of a Huguenot minister in the south of France. For his fine talents and learning, he was made professor of moral philosophy and history, in the Protestant college of Sedan. But that college being suppressed by Louis XIV. about the time of his revocation of the edict of Nantes, and Mr. *Bayle* being offered a like professorship in the college of Rotterdam, in Holland, he became a resident of that place, and there passed the remainder of his life. Although he always professed himself a member of the reformed French church, (except during a temporary conversion to the Catholic church, at an early period of his life,) yet his writings gave his enemies some apparent grounds to accuse him of Deism, and some indeed of Atheism. He was certainly, what was called in England about this time, a *Free-thinker*; and his writings, particularly his Dictionary, abound with severe sarcasms on the superstition and fanaticism of the age in which he lived. For this reason, his character was assailed by the bigots and fanatics, both of the Catholics and the Calvinists; but for the same reason also, his opinions, like those of Mr. *Hume*, are to be respected as of the most impartial authority, in all historical controversies between these two sects of religion.

THE END.



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